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A

VOICE FROM INDIA,

IN ANSWER TO THE

REFORMERS OF ENGLAND.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, 27822

TO THE

RIGHT HON. PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF CONTROL.

"A Governor of India would hardly be found in fault for having duly administered those powers which a deliberate and recent act of the British Legislature had decided to be necessary for the government of that country."

MR. CANNING'S *Speech, 25th May.*

BY JOHN B. SEELY,

CAPTAIN IN THE BOMBAY NATIVE INFANTRY, AND LATE SECOND IN COMMAND 1ST BATTALION OF THE REGULAR BRIGADE OF HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJAH OF NAGPORE;

AUTHOR OF "THE WONDERS OF ELORA."

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

In my late work, entitled "The Wonders of Elora," I had occasion to make a few incidental observations on the Free Press in India; these remarks excited some notice, and were honoured with the approbation of persons whose opinions on the British policy pursued in our Eastern dominions are entitled to my respect. I have been induced to extend my inquiries on the subject; and I humbly conceive that I cannot better perform my duty than by thus offering the result of my investigation of this truly important topic to the consideration of all who may feel interested in its issue; more particularly so, as the subject is again to be discussed in the House of Commons, and I believe in the House of Lords. The same

question has been twice noticed at the India House; and as the discussion is to be revived, it behoves me to set before the agitators and supporters of these debates a clear and unimpeachable statement of facts and circumstances belonging thereto.

From having resided at Calcutta during the period that the discussions with regard to the institution of a Free Press were agitated, I had abundant opportunities of knowing what actually took place; and by a long residence in various parts of India, I have been enabled to examine, with some degree of accuracy, into the probable effects which would attend an unrestricted dissemination among the natives of inflammatory essays, impugning the conduct of individuals, and arraigning the measures of the Anglo-Indian Government. But I know not that I should have ever been impelled to the task I have undertaken, (disqualified as I am to enter the lists with professed pamphleteers, or journalists, as a controversialist,) had I not seen that the British public were grossly misled by a clamour most unjustly raised against those who have the direction of affairs in the

East; that monstrous perversions of facts relating to India were daily promulgating; and that a determined spirit of opposition to every act calculated to preserve our Asiatic possessions was manifested by certain advocates for the much extolled, though little understood, Free Press.

In order, however, to show that I have not felt a groundless alarm, or taken up the subject more seriously than it deserves, I will here take the liberty of quoting a few only of those paragraphs which have lately met my eye, and which, whether justly or not I will leave to the opinion of others, have called for the exposé of motives and actions which is to be met with in the following pages.

"It is difficult to give you an adequate idea of the extreme unpopularity into which the Government, collectively and individually, have fallen, since their late suppression of all freedom of discussion, and their daily attempts to draw the restraints with which they have bound every class of the community closer and closer. In the army I hear *discontent is daily increasing*." *

Oriental Herald for September, 1824.

Again, we have, in the natural course of things, the discontent growing into rebellion.

"This is an admirable condition for an army to be in, on the point of its being summoned away to repel the enemies of the state, on the East and the West; and probably to put down *internal rebellion* among *themselves*."

The next extract is of a piece with the two preceding, equally probable and true.

"Every thing here is intolerably gloomy. As a proof of the opinion which all classes entertain of our rulers, I could enumerate a *thousand* prevailing rumours, all alike conspicuous for *injustice* and *caprice*, but all *possible* to power when shielded from the wholesome operation of a free press. Already several *removals in the army have taken place, without any reason* whatever being assigned for them; and thus, those in authority are gradually establishing the maxim, that military men in India hold their appointments *during* PLEASURE."

From the army we take a step to the mercantile body.

"We should not omit to add, that in addition to the *dissatisfaction* which pervades the *civil* and *military* service of that Presidency, a large portion of discontent is felt also by the mercantile establishments at Calcutta; and although they *dare* not speak out there, they make no secret of their *sufferings* in their communications with friends and correspondents here."

The next extract is a modest invitation to the above class; it speaks pretty plainly.

"Without any diminution of a personal regard and respect for the *few* amiable and excellent men belonging to this wealthy body, we nevertheless shall be glad to hear, by every successive arrival from India, that *their dissatisfaction at the existing state* of things is on the *increase;* because *we* sincerely believe, that nothing but an increase of suffering will rouse them to a *demand* of those rights, of which all who patiently submit to their annihilation, when they have the *power* of remonstrance at least, *if not of resistance,* deserve to be deprived."

My disapprobation was still more excited by observing a most unfounded attack on the character and discipline of the Bengal army, (*vide* No. I. Appendix,) the result of which every unprejudiced mind must see is to excite popular feeling at home, and to encourage the hostility of the native princes and the disaffected, to say nothing of the injury done to the fine and efficient Bengal army. As an officer of the Company's service, I trust it is becoming to endeavour to refute so flagrant a libel. The sentiments of my brethren on this illiberal attack on their professional character I can duly appreciate.

It was my intention to have noticed the

speech of the Honourable D. Kinnaird, and the long petition delivered to the House of Commons, but that I am precluded by the length to which I have extended my present remarks.

In the month of August last, I published in the Sun Newspaper a series of Essays, seven in number: these were on the general question of the press in India, and on the state of society in our oriental possessions. I am led to believe that the letters met with considerable approbation, and I have been assured were deemed interesting and important.

In these letters, neither by personal name, or as editor, did I make mention or allusion to Mr. Buckingham, or his late Calcutta Journal, or his concern in any way or shape whatever.*

My astonishment may be conceived when I read, in Mr. B.'s Oriental Herald for No-

* That the reader may judge for himself, and see with what considerateness, courtesy, and mildness I discussed the free press question, I refer him to the original letters as they appeared in the Sun newspaper of August 18th, 14th, 16th, 19th, 21st, 27th, and 30th.

vember, a long and personal attack on *me*, in which my motives were impugned and censured, and my knowledge of India decried and ridiculed; nay, according to the same *impartial* and *disinterested* article, it appeared that I had no right to speak a word; that what I did say was all misrepresentation and error, dictated by selfish and interested motives, and emanating in dulness and ignorance: indeed, so personal was the charge, that the editor of the Sun declined publishing it, "as being too pointed at Captain Seely, and personal."

Whether Mr. B. benefits himself or his cause by personalities, or in assailing individuals, he ought to know best;—I think not.

In the misfortune into which I have unhappily fallen by exciting Mr. B.'s ire, there is, however, one satisfaction:—I am in very good company; for I have as associates Lord Hastings, the Honourable W. Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, Sir F. Macnaghten, &c. &c. &c. so that I have no great reason to complain of my fate.

How vastly different and exalted would have been my name and situation had I been a "Free Press Man:" then we should have had Captain Seely as an "old experienced officer,"—"sentiments of great weight,"—entitled to the "most serious consideration,"—"well known to the literary world as the author of a popular work on Elora," &c. &c. &c. In short, I should have been a very Solon in legislative wisdom, an Aristides in conscientiousness, a Cæsar in talent, and a Howard in humanity; nay, I but little doubt if his Grace of Wellington would not have had to look to his fame and glory by a rival in Captain Seely.

Mr. B. may feel displeased at my reply, but he cannot be offended or surprised: he had no right whatever, in courtesy or equity, to make a *personal* attack on me. My sentiments and writings are public property, and as such I have pleasure in seeing them analysed and disputed. No one can be more open to conviction than myself; but it is as unjustifiable as it is ungenerous to anticipate men's motives, arraign their intentions, and

ascribe to them charges that can have no foundation in truth, and can only originate in the violent and prejudiced minds of interested individuals, who, having a deep stake at issue, fancy that by censuring those who think differently from themselves, and throwing discredit on their sentiments, they improve their own cause, and drive their opponents out of the field.

Wyke, Dorset,
Nov. 15, 1824.

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CHAPTER I.

"In the capacity of legislators the greatest danger arises from our ignorance and inexperience in the local usages of the country, in consequence of which, with the best intentions, we may commit the greatest errors, and agitate the country with the dread of dangerous innovations on manners and customs interwoven with the very frame of the Indian community*."—(*Edinburgh Review, No.* 80.)

ALTHOUGH the particular question involved in the late discussions at the India House respecting the Press in our Asiatic possessions may be considered to have been set at rest, by the decision passed by the Court of Proprietors on the 23d July, and the attention of the public has been since drawn to the subject generally in different papers which have been submitted to them; still it may be advisable further to consider, whether a free press in India is calculated to produce those advantages which the advocates for it so confidently anticipate, or whether it may not rather be productive of quite a contrary effect.

In every discussion of this nature, those who stand forward as the advocates of a free press, or of any other general privilege or immunity, have,

* For the opinion of the Quarterly Review, *vide* chapter iv.

at the onset at least, a decided advantage over their opponents. The former have only to embellish their speeches or writings with some general reflections on the liberty of the people, and with a few pointed paragraphs against arbitrary authority, and they may rest assured that, in a country like this, their discourses will by many be well received, however deficient in solid argument or correct information. Those, on the contrary, who profess themselves advocates for any restrictions in India, to which the mind is not accustomed in this country, have to contend against impressions received in early youth, and afterwards nurtured and kept alive by various means to the last hour of existence. These circumstances, however, only render it the more essential *dispassionately* to consider, whether, in the actual condition of the people of India, that dependency of the empire is really fitted for discussions similar to those with which the press abounds in this country.

The question may be examined, first, with reference to the Europeans; and secondly, with regard to the natives of India, who may continually engage in discussions of that nature, embracing, as they obviously would do, the political connexion subsisting between Great Britain and India, the system of government established in the latter country, our relations with the different states of Asia, and the internal administration of our own territories by the local governments. It

cannot, I say, be unimportant to consider whether either or both of the two classes of persons above-mentioned are qualified by education, study, and experience, to engage in discussions so closely connected with the dearest and most important interests both of the parent state and of its Asiatic dependencies.

With respect to the British subjects who resort to India, they may be subdivided with sufficient precision for the present occasion into four*, viz., The Civil Functionaries; 2d, Military Officers; 3d, Gentlemen of the legal profession, and substantial Merchants; and 4th, Adventurers in any line of life by which they can obtain the means of subsistence.

A few lines will perhaps suffice to show that all those classes of persons are either precluded by their situation in life from engaging with advantage and propriety in discussions of the above nature, or are disqualified for the task by the want of knowledge and information, both local and general.

With respect to the first class of persons above-mentioned, there is no country in the world in which the civil officers of government have such laborious and incessant duties to perform as in India. Admitting, therefore, what cannot indeed be disputed, that many of them are persons of

* A more specific division will be found in the subsequent chapters.

cultivated minds and superior talents, it must be manifest, that few, if any, of them can find leisure from their official avocations to write for the press. Exclusively of this consideration, their actual situation as public functionaries disqualifies them for discussions of the nature of those which the present remarks bear upon. It would not, I presume, be deemed very decent or becoming in a Secretary to the Government, a Member of one of the Courts of Judicature, a Magistrate, or any other public functionary, to employ his pen in animadverting upon the conduct or measures of the government by which he was himself employed. Neither is it desirable that he should exhibit himself to the public as its advocate or defender, as such procedure must always wear the aspect of adulation and unqualified subjection to authority.

If the civil servants of the Company be restrained, by the considerations above-mentioned, from engaging in publications of a political nature, still less should its military officers, *while on duty* in India, occupy themselves with discussions and controversies of that description. It may not, perhaps, be universally known in this country, that the whole of the forces in India, both European and native, are uniformly kept embodied and prepared for actual service. The natural and honourable duty of persons so situated is to defend the state with their arms; leaving the con-

duct of those who are invested with the immediate government of the country to the superintendence of the authorities which have been established in England by the Legislature expressly for that salutary purpose.

No country is more distinguished than India by the enlightened and liberal character of its merchants;—that is, a small body of men who have acquired, or are acquiring, large property by their mercantile pursuits; but this class of persons have little or no leisure for political discussion, and very few indeed of them, it is believed, have contributed any thing to those pages with which the press has teemed so abundantly during the last three or four years.

We come now to speak of the fourth class of persons above described, under the general appellation of Adventurers. These usually are persons in the middle rank of life, and may have education sufficient for ordinary business, but nothing more. Individuals of this class usually engage as clerks in the public offices, as mariners in the country ships, as indigo planters, as shopkeepers, and (absit individia) as editors of newspapers. If little or no advantage can be anticipated from rendering up the press free and uncontrolled to the three classes of persons beforementioned, still less can it be maintained, that any substantial benefit is likely to result from the lucubrations of individuals of the character last

described. The system established for the administration of our Asiatic possessions, says one, is in principle wrong. The practical conduct of the local government, says another, is arbitrary and oppressive. But supposing that these and other objections had the least foundation in truth, can it for a moment be imagined that persons with the very limited attainments above-mentioned are qualified to correct defects which demand knowledge and talents of the very first order, combined with the most extensive experience of every thing connected with our Asiatic territories? The question is not, here, whether there may be defects which should be corrected; improvements which should be introduced; or even misconduct which should be punished; but merely whether the only class of persons, who, as we have above seen, are likely to engage in discussions of that nature, are at all qualified for so delicate and important a task. If any person shall doubt of the evils which may arise from the interposition of persons of heated imaginations and weak judgments on matters of reform, let him refer to Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution. The last *forty* years have furnished more signal examples of the evils arising from *injudicious* attempts at reform than are to be found in the *whole* page of history besides. It may of course be said, that no such spirit at present prevails among the great body of the people in India.

Fortunately it does not; but the natural tendency of such discussions as those to which the present remarks refer is to generate a spirit of that nature; and if it be once excited, no human wisdom can possibly predict its effects.

Having said thus much with respect to the different classes of British subjects in India, and of the fitness of each of those descriptions of persons to engage in discussions of a political nature, I shall have occasion to add but little on the subject as applicable to the natives of India. They consist, for the most part, of two great bodies, viz., Hindoos and Mahomedans, differing essentially from each other as to religious manners and customs, but alike disqualified by education and habit for forming any sound notions respecting those general principles on which the government of our Indian possessions, or of any other country, must be founded. In fact, neither of these classes of persons have any idea of a government but as a pure, unmixed despotism.

If abuses be committed by the persons exercising the chief authority, or by the public officers, they, like other individuals of common sense and judgment, in which, generally speaking, they are by no means deficient, can no doubt discern and reprobate the evil. With respect, however, to the different forms of civil government, the balance of power among the several orders in the state, and other speculative opinions of that sort, it may

be confidently affirmed, that the wisest among them know less than an ordinary schoolboy in this country. What, then, can be gained by inflaming the minds of such persons with discussions, the merits of which, as already mentioned, they are utterly incapable of appreciating.

It may be urged, perhaps, that if the natives of India be so totally destitute of all political knowledge as they are here represented to be, it is the more desirable that such ignorance should be dissipated by means of the press. But this, surely, would be to commence at the wrong end. In this country every person, however young, on his first entrance into society or public life, brings with him a certain fund of knowledge on political subjects, which he has derived from his studies at school and the university. This information may indeed be crude and superficial; but however defective it may be, it serves as a basis for further research, by which the mind is gradually led to the attainment of whatever is valuable and important in the science of politics and legislation. It is not impossible to conceive that something of this sort may one day or another be experienced in India. Great efforts have been made during some years past to improve the intellectual condition of the natives, and some good may perhaps have been already effected by those means. At the same time, it is evident that years, or rather centuries, must elapse before such an alteration can

take place in the education of the natives, as may enable them, on attaining the age of manhood, to form sound opinions on political questions, or to bear a part in discussions of that nature. In the mean time, what course are we to pursue?

The natives, generally speaking, are, I am persuaded, fully satisfied with the system of government established among them, and perfectly conscious that they enjoy security of person and property in a degree which could not *possibly* be expected under any of the native Asiatic governments. With these blessings they are for the present content. We may, no doubt, by means of newspapers and pamphlets, gradually diffuse among them the notion that they are not governed as they ought to be, and that the subjects of the States enjoy privileges and immunities to which, on the principles of the "Rights of Man," they ought to be admitted. Will any person, however, seriously maintain that, by the diffusion of such ideas, their intellectual or political condition will be ameliorated? The foundations of the former must, as already intimated, be laid in very early life; and, considering the religious mind both of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, it is not an easy task to introduce improvements of that nature. In the mean time we must act for them as we should act, and in fact do act, for certain classes of persons in this country, who are precluded, by whatever cause, from having any share in the administration

of its affairs: in other words, every thing should be done *for* the natives of India, but not *by* them. Ample means already exist for the accomplishment of that object. The local governments abroad are employed without intermission in the discharge of the important functions intrusted to them, including of course such improvements in the internal state of the country as it may be deemed wise and safe to introduce. The detailed reports made to the Court of Directors, and through the Court to the Board of Control, have given to those authorities the fullest means of judging of the propriety of the measures pursued, or of suggesting themselves such arrangements as might be deemed advisable. Nor are discussions of this nature by any means unknown in either House of Parliament, or in the Court of Proprietors. These are obviously the proper channels for any reforms which the theoretical system or practical administration of our Indian territories may require. But if, after all, the press be deemed a necessary instrument in the execution of the work in question, let it be the *English* press. Here it is in many instances conducted by persons of talent and knowledge.

An unfounded assertion or erroneous opinion in one newspaper or pamphlet is sure to meet its refutation and exposure in another. The discussions themselves would likewise, in all probability, be conducted with greater temper and

sobriety in this country than in India. In the latter, the feelings and interests of individuals or particular bodies may be excited by causes which could have no influence on the minds of the people at home. In a word, the mischiefs which may arise from the agitation of such subjects in India will be in a great measure, if not entirely, obviated by confining the discussion of them to the English press. It may be urged, perhaps, that the individuals who usually write for the press in England have not resided in India, and that however well qualified in other respects, they are destitute of all local knowledge respecting that country. The observation may, generally speaking, be well founded. At the same time, it is notorious that persons of talent and experience return annually from India. The persons in question are gentlemen who have filled, during a long course of years, high situations in the civil or military service of the Company, or in the department of the law, at each of the presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Among these, a few at least will be soon disposed to exercise their talents in elucidating, through the medium of the press, any question of policy which can be agitated respecting India; and it may, I think, be safely affirmed, that the matured opinions of only two or three such persons are of infinitely greater value than the crude conceptions of a whole horde of adventurers, with the limited

attainments and imperfect means of information enjoyed by individuals of that class during their residence in our Indian territories.

In our next and subsequent chapters* we shall take a more enlarged and general view of the state of society in India, and the danger likely to arise from the establishment of a free press there; after which we shall examine some of the most prominent speeches which have lately been delivered on this important question in the House of Commons and at the East India House.

* The substance of the following seven chapters has already appeared (under my signature) in letters addressed to "*The Sun*" newspaper, and will therefore be recognised by its numerous Indian readers.—J. B. S.

CHAPTER II.

"Give me a few facts; general remarks, however excellent, are of little use; people in power are not moved from their purposes by mere well-arranged sentences."

Our own *free* country affords numerous instances that freedom of speech and freedom of discussion may be carried too far; and, in proof, I need only adduce the case of a high-minded and estimable Baronet in the House of Commons, the proceedings against the Independent Whig (newspaper), the incarceration of Mr. Cobbett and others, and the repeated prosecutions which have taken place in our Courts of Law for libel.

In this enlightened and happy country the executive have found it necessary, for the well-being of the state, not only to impose restrictions, but often to use the strong arm of power in keeping public speakers and writers within proper and constitutional bounds. If this is the case in England, where a counteracting influence exists, and an antidote to the poison is always to be found in contemporary prints professing different political principles and sentiments, let me, in

dispassionate and candid language, ask every well-constituted mind how it is possible a free press can exist under a despotic government? India ever has been, is, and must be a purely absolute government, regulated in many instances, however, by the Mahomedan and Hindoo laws and institutes, as dissimilar from those of any other civilized state as can be, possessing an immense subjugated population, the great majority of which are of military habits, restless, ambitious, and bold. India being far removed from the mother country, the administration must possess a decisive and arbitrary control; if this is abused, it is amenable to his Majesty's Government, the Parliament, the Board of Control, the East India Directors, the Court of Proprietors, and, lastly, public opinion. We all know the government have the power, and on occasions can use it; as was the case in the long protracted and cruel trial of that much injured and calumniated man, Warren Hastings.

Among the numerous millions of India, many will be found dissatisfied and intriguing, and only waiting for an opportunity to replunge the country into the measureless woes and indescribable horrors of former Mahomedan rule and oppression. In the hands of these men, unrestricted liberty, not in discussing the merits or errors of government, but in inflaming the public mind by false and seditious writings, would

in a few years, after various bloody struggles, bring about a revolution, and for ever overthrow the power of the British in the oriental continent, and give to the Mussulman his lost dominion. Heaven in its anger could hardly inflict a heavier curse on the beautiful plains of Hindostan than in restoring the Mahomedan to power. Every page of history, every village and field, speaks of the remorseless, cruel, and desolating sway of the former rulers; yet our mild, beneficent, and prosperous rule is to give way for the visionary project of enlightening the natives by a free press. God forbid that I should oppose the freedom of speech or of writing in India, did it promise to the natives one single advantage or comfort; but thoroughly convinced in my own mind that the effect produced would be disastrous to their present happiness and future prosperity, and at the same time be the infallible means of ruining us, and of causing, by inflammatory and revolutionary writings, discord and civil war, I will for ever raise my voice against a free press in that country. I do it on two plain and simple principles: first, that the natives in no possible way can be benefited by it; and, secondly, that it must be injurious to us as foreigners and conquerors.

The Indian community may be divided into three classes; the first, and of course the largest part is the natives, Hindoo and Mussulmans—the former being about fifteen to one of the latter.

Among the native population is a sprinkling of Jews, Arabs, Armenians, and Parsees, with a few Chinese. The second class is composed of the officers, civil and military, of his Majesty and the East India Company's service, and gentlemen of the legal profession. The third class consists of the European community, all of whom are, or *ought to be*, licensed according to Act of Parliament. These consist of free merchants and free mariners, and persons who are smuggled out by being borne on the ship's books as seamen, &c., and allowed to depart on the ship's arrival. Probably the most numerous part of the third class are the last-mentioned persons, who have deserted from the East India shipping.

It is the third or latter part of the community whom faction and clamour wish to establish as the British Public in India: if they are such, they must be, from their political situation, in constant hostility to the government: it is not in the nature of man to do otherwise; he goes out to India under certain restrictions, and, while there, must conform to the orders and regulations of the government, as established by the British Legislature in England; he is consequently ever dissatisfied, and anxious to throw off the necessary restraint and surveillance in which he is placed; but that which most excites his displeasure, and often gives rise to misbehaviour and reproach, on the part of the licensed settler or deserter, is, that he is not per-

mitted to go up the country to colonise, or form locations in the interior; neither can he enter into the service of a native prince, buy land, or lend money at usury to the *native princes;* all these just restrictions he fancies are grievances, and although he went to India with the certainty of experiencing them, still he imagines he is a free man, and ought to do as he pleases. Possessing the natural energies of the English character, improved by education, and stimulated by ambition and poverty, nothing would be easier for the adventurer than to embroil the native princes in war, and at a fitting season bring them into our territories, or aid a hostile power.

Those who know the dissipated habits of the Mussulman princes are aware, that to obtain money they would not hesitate to pay one hundred per cent. for it, and, to defray the interest, would in the most unmerciful manner rack-rent their territories to the last rupee, all of which evil must fall upon the lower orders. The amount of Carnatic debts*, and the late Hydrabad affair, are

* The prudent and humane endeavours of the local governments to protect the native princes from the cupidity of Europeans, and the dishonesty of their own native ministers, having been evaded, the subjoined order was transmitted under date from England, 9th April, 1823, and published in Calcutta October following:—

Par. 3. "You will observe that we are advised by these high legal authorities, that the restriction contained in the 30th section of the Act 13 Geo. III. cap. 63, which restrains the rate of interest

cases in point; and had not the British most justly and opportunely interfered, those rich countries would have been ruined and depopulated, from the extravagance and rapacity of the native princes, who, I am sorry to say, found abettors and supporters in the class of persons of whom I am now speaking. As the unrestricted colonization and

to 12 per cent., extends to contracts made as well in those parts of the East Indies which are not under the Government of the East India Company, as in those which are; the same restriction extends to loans made to native Princes and Governments in the East Indies, as well as to those made to individuals, whether the contracts for such loans be made or carried into execution within or beyond the territories under the Government of the East India Company. That the same restriction extends to loans made under a licence from the Governments in India, pursuant to the 37th Geo. III. cap. 142, sec. 28, and that it is not lawful for a mercantile or banking partnership, consisting partly of natives of India, and partly of European-born subjects of his Majesty, to make a loan to a native prince, contrary to the provisions of 37 Geo. III. cap. 142, sec. 28, whether the contract for such loan be made or carried into execution, within or beyond the territories under the Government of the East India Company, that in either case the contract of the house would be void, and that the European-born partners would be liable to be prosecuted for a misdemeanour.

Par. 4. "We desire that you will cause this explanation and instruction to be made public, and that you will institute prosecutions against all persons in any way contravening the law as thus explained."

By command of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council,

GEO. SWINTON,
Sec. to the Gov.

consequent loss of India (the brightest jewel in the British crown) was never contemplated by the home administration, it became necessary to place restraints on those who wished to settle in the interior; this has been a great cause of discontent, and those who cannot do as they think fit, and fail in either influencing or cajoling the government into an acquiescence in their objects and wishes, fly off to the free press, to insult and reproach the executive; false statements are made, exaggeration is given to their claims, and they insult and revile the government to their hearts' content, not considering that the administration is doing no more than its duty, and that which the safety and prosperity of the state imperiously require.

The mind of the native of rank, by these misrepresentations, is biassed and inflamed; and it often happens that one of the said "public," being connected with him, and generally indebted to him, takes part with the European, and that which he published in his own language would be *translated* into the *native* newspapers (of which there are four in Calcutta alone), with every circumstance grossly perverted, shamefully exaggerated, and distorted in every possible way; and by whom? By the very persons who have gone out to India by permission and under a promise of good behaviour, possessing at the same time a full knowledge of the penal statutes

and municipal laws to which they have subjected themselves in the country where they are to reside.

India presents a fine field for a literary man possessed of a daring and turbulent spirit; this spirit, in an ambitious man, would be strengthened and impelled into action by the restraints wisely placed upon his actions; the more his political views and exertions are cramped, the more firmly and zealously he becomes from principle the opponent of government; and through him the hidden libeller, the private enemy, the anonymous assailant, would vent their libels and malice. By thus administering to the base, disappointed, and vindictive feelings of others, situated like himself, he becomes not only popular, but a champion in the cause of the said public. Every public measure, every act of the government, however necessary, justifiable, or meritorious, would be stigmatized, reviled, and held up to scorn and derision, by the very persons who live in the country merely by sufferance, who have no right there, and may by law be at any time removed.

Were the effect of the evil confined to the European part of the community, it would lose some particle of its dangerous and odious character; but it is with the natives where the evil is felt in full force, and is productive of the most mischievous consequences; they carefully copy and circulate the libels and insults offered, believe

them to be true, and in turn fancy themselves aggrieved and oppressed; they are thus imperceptibly taught to believe that the government is any thing but mild and beneficent. The consequence is evident; that government which they *formerly* looked upon with respect and admiration, they *now* view as selfish and arbitrary in its measures, and weak and irresolute in permitting its own subjects to vilify and calumniate it at pleasure. This much I know from personal observation made during two long visits to Calcutta. I know it has been repeatedly asserted, that in the late restrictions placed on the press, the government of the country wished to keep the people in a state of mental darkness. Nothing was farther from their intentions, as the subjoined paragraph, published on the occasion of issuing the late orders, will satisfactorily prove to those who will view things through a clear vision:—

"The foregoing rules impose no irksome restraints on the publication and discussion of any matters of general interest relating to European or Indian affairs, provided they are conducted with the temper and decorum which the government has a right to expect from those living under its protection; neither do they preclude individuals from offering, in a temperate and decorous manner, through the channel of the public newspapers, or other periodical works, their own views and sentiments relating to matters affecting the interests of the community."

This benevolent and liberal language needs no comment; all that the government wished to

avoid were political discussions, anonymous censures on their public officers, and highly-coloured, distorted, and fictitious statements, given for the sole purpose of causing excitement to the public mind, and holding up the administration of the country to contempt and obloquy.

One other extract before we close this chapter. Sir Francis Macnaghten, the Chief Justice, observed, in registering the licensing act, that

"He believed there were few men that heard him who had less intercourse with the government, or with any of its members, than himself. With most of them he had long been acquainted; and from his own knowledge, as well as the characters which they were known to bear, he believed them to be incapable of abusing any authority with which they might be invested."

CHAPTER III.

"By premature efforts to accelerate the progress of the blessings it is our hope to impart, we shall not only hasten our own downfall, but *replunge* the natives of India into a state of *greater* anarchy and misery than that from which *we relieved* them."

SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

BEFORE closing that part of our subject which relates to the European part of the Indian community, I wish to give an extract from the speech of the Chief Justice; it contains sound and practical doctrine, and after his late expression (quoted in the previous chapter, and confirmed by those who know Sir Francis and the terms which he was on with the government), no one will accuse that eminent man of the least shadow of partiality to the "powers that be:"—

"It appears to me to be assumed in the argument, that Calcutta is as free a land as England. Whether it be advisable for the liberties of Englishmen, or for the inhabitants of Calcutta, to grant a free constitution to India, I shall never inquire; but I shall always rejoice at the spread of liberty. I know that many are of opinion that India is a proper country for the introduction of the same liberties as those enjoyed by Englishmen at home; but I also know that others are of quite a different opinion. Among these, Sir William Jones, a zealous and ardent lover of liberty, is one; and he says, that the introduction of liberty into

India would be worse than the most odious tyranny. If we are to have a free constitution in India, I shall be glad if any one who can do so will tell me upon what principle we can found our right to it. I must own I do not know the text or the comment. I must execute the laws as I find them. I confess I am at a loss whence the idea, that a British subject, or any one else, has a right to the liberties of England in this country, has arisen. I really know of no place where there is a more rational liberty than in Calcutta. Industry is encouraged there; and I never knew an individual who had any claim to it complain of a want of patronage and attention. I never was in any society where individuals were more free and fearless; and they may well be, where they have nothing to fear in the expression of their sentiments. I say that a free press coming into contact with such a government as this is, is quite inconsistent and incompatible, and they cannot stand together."

Few men can be displeased with the foregoing opinion, and none can censure it, either as unconstitutional or arbitrary. For my own part, I conceive it my duty to speak fully and candidly on the subject; and it would be a dereliction of that duty did I not raise my voice when I see India threatened with danger and future ruin, by the chimerical projects of men, who may or may not mean well, but of whose ulterior intentions no man can form any certain conjecture. The present appearance of what a free press has achieved gives us a sorry promise of the future; by many I know its progress is lightly estimated; had its career, however, not been checked, its course in a short time would have become irremediable. That mighty engine, the free press, in a con-

quered country, where our numerical strength is nothing*, is an alarming instrument in the hands of the public of India (as they are miscalled), without any counteracting influence as in England by other classes, all of whom are more or less concerned and identified in the prosperity and safety of the state.

How widely dissimilar is the state of society in India, where the free press, and the said public, are to have uncontrolled sway! In that country the native population is restless, military and powerful; the free settlers discontented, ambitious, and intelligent, and the other body the immediate servants and stipendiaries of the government. And is this a public, as we understand the word in England, where every class is dependent or coalescing with the other; where every man knows his duty in society, and the dangers he exposes himself to by misconduct? How vastly different is the public in India, where the major part have nothing to lose either in character or property, and every thing to gain by overthrowing the British power, and substituting their own rule, till they, in their turn, are massacred and expelled, and the country become again the prey of the Mussulman, or fall in part to the grasp of the Russian, while the maritime provinces would fall into the possession of France, Holland, and America, &c. This is not speculative reasoning, nor unsupported argument.

* *Vide* Appendix, No. 4.

Unrestrained liberty of publishing and writing will indubitably, in the course of thirty years, be the cause of a revolution in India, and finally expel us from the country.

It is hard to differ with men so very respectable, nay, eminent, as Messrs. Hume, D. Kinnaird, and Lambton. In a free government, however, men must and will differ in opinion; and notwithstanding Mr. Hume's distinguished services, general knowledge, and residence in India, may give some weight to his arguments, we shall probably find, in examining these gentlemen's speeches, some few fallacies, misconceptions, and errors, as will be seen by and by; and even the "master spirit," with his great and varied talents, who has brought the talents and services of these and other gentlemen into play, will be shown to be defective in his arguments and erroneous in his statements.

Let me here, before we finish the subject of Europeans in India, put a question in the kindest and most respectful way to Mr. Lambton. Suppose an itinerant demagogue were to proceed to his collieries, and, by haranguing his numerous colliers, reading to them false and inflammatory writings, reflect on Mr. Lambton, and on the mode of treatment of his people, &c. &c., would not he, in this case, send for a constable and remove the man from his mischievous pursuits? It is likely in such case that neither Mr. Lambton nor any other gentleman would be very choice in he way of removing such a man, nor would they

probably think much of his accommodation, or how far off he was transported; he would be dealt with according to law as a dangerous and improper person: yet when the same thing is done in India, where the annoyance and danger are of such immense magnitude, that the case quoted will bear not the slightest comparison with it, a hue and cry is raised, that to me (notwithstanding the respect I bear to the principal advocates) savours very strongly of party spirit.

We have now to speak of the native population of India; and I wish it to be recollected, that we speak of a subjugated country, immensely populous, and where it is acknowledged on all sides that our rule is that of "public opinion," strongly engrafted and maintained in the minds of the people by our scrupulous attention and respect to their inveterate *religious* prejudices, their institutes, and their *immemorial* customs. Nothing can shake this but our own misconduct in ill-treating the natives, or allowing others to do so, in the shape of free settlers. I shall assert, without fear of contradiction, that the great mass of the people are satisfied and pleased with our rule; that their condition, moral and political, is beyond all comparison better than it was when under their former masters, the Mahomedans; but I am far from admitting that there are not thousands of able, aspiring, and discontented natives, of education and rank, who would gladly join in any measure

that promised to displace the British power. These persons could not have a more efficient and powerful instrument than an unrestricted, licentious, and inflammatory press to aid their machinations. Once informed of the opinions of each other, the time of going to work, how to set about it, their own physical strength, and the great resources of the country, our discomfiture and final annihilation would be far more speedily accomplished than our rise to prosperity and power has been. A few corresponding societies, fraternal clubs, and other *materiel* of the French Revolution, would soon be formed. By a free press the great body of priests would be stimulated into action by means as obvious as they are certain. Religion would be the watch-word, and the mass now attached to us would fulfil the command of the priests to any extent.

In the revolutions which have taken place in India, and in the establishment of our extensive power, it will be evident to every thinking mind that thousands of intelligent and respectable men have necessarily fallen in their fortunes: can it be doubted for a moment that they would not readily seize the opportunity of rising and aggrandizing themselves; or, in other words, that by a change to the old native rule, instead of being assistants in the public service, they would become deputies, instead of deputies becoming principals? In subordinate cases they would ex-

change from the servant to the master; and that man who now, in consideration of his decayed respectability or the former services of his family, receives a pension, would, in the course of political events, expect to be enabled, by the "happy change," to pay pensions himself. All those nobles, ministers, and others, who held to the old court at Delhi, the countless scions of royalty, and thousands of other dependents, would look with delight and enthusiasm to the re-establishment of themselves and followers. Where is a fitter instrument to forward their projects and assist them in their now dormant views than a free press, by which they could communicate with each other, and give excitement and disgust to the great body of the people, by misrepresenting, falsifying, and libelling the acts of the British authorities?

Those acquainted with the facilities of revolution in India, and the rapid rise and fall of the various dynasties and states, will see the great probability of what I state. The causes may be summed up in a few words: the people are of military habits, have few wants, and are formed of a restless, high-minded, and inflammable temperament. A popular commotion in India is the work of a day, if well arranged and its ramifications extended; it is the work of a year to put it down. Let it, however, be closely cemented and kept in motion by those who admi-

nister to the ambition of the higher, and to the passions and prejudices of the lower orders, and we shall find the task of restoring the public peace more difficult than we *at home* can possibly imagine. Religious enthusiasm, disappointed hopes, and prospects of better times, would cause revolts and war of a very different character to the solitary and insulated attack or rebellion of a native prince, who, having collected a few thousand followers and some treasure, makes war on the government to obtain better terms, and against whom our allies will cheerfully proceed, if commanded; or, when once enlightened by a free press, and stimulated into action by the designs of active and intelligent Europeans, as readily act against us.

There is a numerous and important class of persons among the native community to whom we must now allude, viz. the native officers employed by the government in civil capacities. These people, from education and employment, are for the most part a superior body of men, and intrusted with responsible duties. They generally possess great influence in their districts, and their public situations give them a command and weight that we in this country, where nothing of caste, and still less of the usages of India, are known, can have no just conception of. These officers, if misled or prejudiced by the writings and opinions of factious men, would become extremely

formidable to the best interests of the state; for, as their influence is in the interior among their *own* dependents and caste, their opinions would spread and their wishes be attended to by numerous bodies, possessing warlike habits, and disregarding any authority but that which emanates from their native officers; and although they are aware that the orders originate with the British government, the European officer on the spot would find it extremely difficult to check public feeling, and still more difficult, without the zealous co-operation of the native, to enforce or manage the Judicial, Revenue, or Commercial Affairs of the province intrusted to his charge. Here let me ask, what would be the effect, when these men were taught to impugn the motives of government, to scandalize their proceedings, and to throw obloquy on all public measures by the circulation of false and inflammatory writings? The first result would be, dissatisfaction to the state, distrust in their European superiors, and finally, hatred of the yoke under which they live. This would shortly lead to commotions, and those who had ambitious and mercenary objects in view would speedily fan the flame into revolution. In such times, where can be a more formidable weapon than a free press in the hands of these people? who, naturally ambitious, reduced from their former state and splendour to that of pensioners or servants of the British government,

and shorn in a great measure, by the changes which have taken place, of their former revenues and power, would hail with delight a revolution that promised to restore them to their pristine state.

Zealots, whether in political reformation or in what is by them miscalled religion, know no bounds to their sedition and blasphemy; and it behoves the government, whether in the East or West Indies, to watch with the most sedulous care and activity the progress of fanatical or intriguing men. The following is a specimen of what certain parties are trying to accomplish:—true it is, that what I am about to submit applies to the West Indies; but the same spirit is awake and *silently* progressing in the East,—with this material difference in its character, that in the East the chance of success, in alienating the minds of the people, is far greater, and the consequences more appalling to their rulers, than in the West. There is no slavery in the East Indies; but the people are a subjugated race, and, in a time of popular commotion, nice distinctions will not be drawn by those who wish for revolution and change.

In the British and Colonial Register for June 19th, 1824, is the following letter:—

"Sir,—A Tract has been issued by the Sunday School Tract Society, entitled 'Negro Slavery,' which comprises, in the space of ten pages, a concise enumeration of the horrors of slavery,

plainly told and CLEARLY put together. It is a most *useful* paper; and I wish you, Sir, to take this public notice of it, that it may be more known. By thus *impregnating* the *minds* of the children of the poor with a thorough knowledge and deep-rooted hatred to slavery, we are gaining a *vast accession of strength* from a class of people who, unless they are informed in this *cheap*, and *easy*, and concise method, will remain altogether ignorant of the question, and thus, through the advocates of the cause, find reason to deplore the *coldness* of the *present* generation; and though it may not be granted to them to see the final extinction of this system, they may yet reflect that a people is rising into manhood and activity, full of abhorrence of slavery and of zeal for its abolition, in *high spirits* and in the vigour of youth, energetic and *determined*, to whom they may *safely commit* the accomplishment of the work which *they* have been *compelled* to quit."

Had these "clear" expositors, with their "cheap tracts," a shilling of property in the West Indies, they would not say a word—*then* they would think sugar a more valuable commodity than philanthropy. I am sick of such unjustifiable, inflammatory manœuvres; and am surprised at the apathy of the Government on these proceedings being brought to light.

CHAPTER IV.

"So long as we have honest and intelligent rulers in that country, it will be *sedulously* protected from the certain and *incalculable* mischiefs which such an engine in the hands of needy and *unprincipled* adventurers cannot fail to produce."

Quarterly Review.

We will now allude to a respectable but inferior class of native public officers. They are intimately, by caste and religious feeling, identified with the body of people mentioned in the last chapter; and without their assistance, I do not hesitate to say, that the government could not conduct its operations. They are now, like their superiors, faithful, attached, and loyal; but only permit them to be taught to question the acts of their British rulers, by delusive statements and seditious doctrines, and these very men, instead of executing their orders, would be enjoined to disobey them; and when once they began to suspect that they were oppressed, or that they *might* be improved in their condition, or that our proceedings were nefarious and arbitrary, their hate and detestation would be as vivid and active as is now their zeal and obedience. I wish to be informed where, among the numerous evils and dangers which I have faithfully narrated, (and of

which we shall have more in due time,) is a single benefit or advantage to be derived by the native of India from political discussion? Not a solitary one! Yet for the visionary and delusive free press are we to risk our empire in India, with its measureless benefits to the mother country, and replunge the now happy, contented, and prosperous Hindoo, into the horrors, famines, burnings, and desolations of former days, by restoring the abominable rule of the Mussulman.

A government in bestowing a boon on its people, if it does not look for an equivalent, at all times looks to the certainty of improving the state of the people; now I wish to ask, if political discussion would do that? No! it would only excite the most influential men to acts of hostility against the British authorities; by which assuredly, whichever party were for the time successful, the great mass of the people would be utterly ruined. Could we then again unwrite the mischief we had done? certainly not!

Persons in this country are so little informed of the habits and ideas of the natives of India, that opinions are formed at once crude and erroneous, and they are led to believe that our rule abroad is alike arbitrary and unjust; and those who have been to India are often apt, from a want of knowledge of the numerous *distinct* states and people who occupy the interior, to disseminate opinions which can only be formed of the, comparatively

speaking, corrupt natives who are found at the sea ports. A strong and indissoluble attachment exists in the castes, with a perfect obedience to the priests. The entire body has but one opinion, and each man in consequence the more compactly and firmly feels and resents the injury, supposed or real, that is done to the other: the case is widely different in England, where none of these bonds of unity and co-operation exist. Lord Valentia (Earl of Mount-Norris) has a sensible and apposite observation in his excellent book of Travels, 4to, vol. i. page 249, in speaking of the labours of the Missionaries.

"But were the paths of ambition laid open to him by that equalization which would be the consequence of the destruction of castes, and the general reception of Christianity, talents would have their free career, and every man of spirit would consider himself as the establisher of his own fortune. Is it credible, then, that in such an event, so many millions of natives would submit to be governed by a few thousand Europeans, to whom they could feel no natural attachment or obligation of allegiance?"

These observations now bring me to another portion of our Indian subjects, the fine and well disciplined native army of nearly 200,000 men, all bound together by ties of caste. These men have always looked upon us with notions almost bordering on veneration; they are high-minded but obedient, strongly attached, because they are well treated and their *religious* prejudices respected; loyal,

because they believe us to be humane, just, and powerful; and they have not been *told* otherwise. No excitement has ever been given to their minds; no false doctrines have been preached; no delusive theories held out to them; no false grievances suggested by the artful to their imaginations, and no hope of bettering their fortunes by resisting their officers; nor has the idea of opposing the government been instilled into their minds. They observe the government to be firm and liberal, and their officers brave and considerate; getting their pay regularly, experiencing a uniform system of mild treatment, and a provision in their old age, they are happy now, and look forward to the future without fear of want or distress. Probably, however, this admirable and brave army may be *reformed* and *improved* by making them *Quidnuncs*, giving them a weekly newspaper, to be called the "Siphauces' Remembrancer;" the leading article to consist of a review of the acts of the government, two columns to be apportioned to the reports received from the various native corps, stating the ill usage, the wants and wishes of the men in each preceding week; with an original article written by the senior Subadar (native Captain), on the abilities and conduct of the British officers composing the courts-martial or courts of inquiry which have sat; extracts from the London journals, relating to the abuses and misgovernment practised in

India; articles from the *Ukhbars* (court circulars), with the correspondence of reformed and enlightened native civil officers, to consist of original essays on the corruption and inefficiency of the European civil officers at Mofussils: these articles would altogether form an admirable mass of intelligence, *loyalty*, and novelty. The surplus profits of the newspaper might enable the *native* editor, in a short time, to still further edify his oppressed and injured countrymen, by a cheap edition, in Persian and Hindoostanee, of *Paine's Age of Reason*, and *Palmer's Principles of Nature!* What a cheering idea does this present to the philanthropist! even the very probability of the native of India becoming almost as virtuous and enlightened as his master! After ages will speak with admiration of British philanthropy and patriotism; and although, probably, after generations may regret the loss of India, what is that compared to the mental improvement of mankind, and the advantage of their becoming as wise, as *good*, and as powerful as their former rulers were? Well may an "Oriental" periodical work place on its wrapper a printing press, descending from the clouds in a halo of light on the heads of the suffering millions, like the dew of heaven falling on Mount Lebanon, vivifying, refreshing, and nourishing exhausted nature!

Nothing can be more certain than that, in the course of a few years, that which I have ironi-

cally pictured would become a sad reality. It cannot be doubted, by reasonable and sensible minds, but that the most disastrous results must accrue from a licentious and unbridled press, among a proud and powerful people, who have been reduced to a state of subjection by a handful of foreigners,—foreigners in country, in religion, in customs, and in sentiments. We should, in a very short time, as the "march of reason" proceeded, have the Siphauee doubting the propriety of the order given him; and his native officer, now become reformed and wise, justifying by treasonable and libellous conversations and writings, the misconduct of the soldier, or his own infringement of duties and orders. Subordination and discipline would be at an end. For a moment only, allow the Siphauee and his native officer to have misgivings, or be inclined to seek after the *whys* and *wherefores*, and then farewell for ever to India.

It is to me extremely singular, that in our madness we would wish to bestow that upon the native soldiery of India, which is positively denied to the British army at home; an army composed of our *own* countrymen, and residing within our *own* towns.*

* The following extract from the Police Reports in the newspapers, will confirm the above observations:—

"On Monday, 13th September, Mr. G. Hale, of Lambeth, formerly a respectable tradesman in the Strand, was charged before Sir J. Webb and the Rev. J. Messiter, at the police-office,

It was but the other day, (and mind, reader,) in this free, happy, and loyal country—I say loyal,

Woolwich, with distributing to the soldiers in those barracks a number of seditious publications, tending to excite them to mutiny and discontent. The prisoner did not appear to be more than thirty, and his dress resembled that worn by the Quakers. He was apprehended on Saturday, in the guard-room of the barracks. A number of privates and non-commissioned officers appeared to support the charge against the prisoner; who, it was stated, had for the last seven months been busily engaged in writing and distributing pamphlets amongst the soldiers and sailors, at all the barracks and docks within a hundred miles of London. Mr. Messiter told the accused that the charge against him was of a serious nature, as he had been actively engaged in endeavouring to *induce* the *soldiery* to throw off their *allegiance* to their *sovereign*, and to *rebel against their superiors*. Mr. H. denied that he had any such intention. About eighteen pamphlets were produced, and several bundles of similar publications unopened, which had been taken from the accused on his apprehension. The bundles were marked Chatham, Maidstone, Canterbury, Sandgate, Dover, and Deal. Mr. M. told the accused, that he was fearful he was the tool or agent of a society of persons in London; and asked him if it was not his intention to have distributed the contents of the several parcels to the soldiery at the different places written on the envelope? Mr. H. replied, there was nothing secret about his conduct, and he did not *hesitate* to admit that *such* was *his* intention. Mr. M. You were down here a few weeks ago, Mr. Hale, and delivered pamphlets to the soldiers, were you not?—Mr. H. Yes, I was. Mr. M. These publications, though they *pretend* to be religious works, are of the most mischievous tendency.—Mr. H. I have not written or published a single sentence but what was founded on the sacred truths of the Christian religion, which are to be found in the Word of God. Mr. M. What is your object?—Mr. H. My object is to put an end to war and bloodshed, and the slaughter of my fellowmen,

and I glory in saying it, for ninety-nine out of a hundred are well disposed towards king and country!—that it was found necessary to suppress a tragedy, written by Mr. Shee, a gentleman of high literary powers, and an artist of great respectability. And why was its suppression found necessary? Because it contained passages calculated to produce an excitement, in the minds of the vulgar, prejudicial to the well-being of the State.

Mr. Cobbett, the most eminent reform writer of this or any other period, the very Atlas of reformers, has more than once among us been checked in his career: yet an outcry and lamentation is raised if the same thing is done among the conquered millions in India. One would suppose that the good people of this land, in their anger and vituperation, forget that there is such a thing as an Alien Act in Great Britain; and although its application to foreigners, after seven years, ceases, still if the Administration found its application *necessary*, they would, with that firmness and decision which have maintained us as a

and I advise the soldiers to obey the Word of God, rather than the orders of men."

So much for the disgusting cant of fanatics, and the delusions of weak-minded men. Doubtless if such attempts are made in this country, we should have the same mad efforts practised in a year or two in India. *There* the consequences must be unspeakably dreadful.

nation, during so many years of hard struggle, have recourse to it on any particular occasion occurring.

In the case with India, from having served for considerable periods at the three presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, I can speak with confidence, and without fear of contradiction, and can say, that if persons will leave the government alone, the government will not disturb them.

Before quitting the subject of the native population on the Oriental continent, I will give a sensible and candid opinion contained, as a leading article, in the Courier of the 27th July, 1824.

"A ridiculous controversy is carrying on just now, respecting the liberty of the press in India. Like most discussions upon this subject, and upon that of political liberty generally, the great considerations of time and place are disregarded. That which is good for A, under given circumstances, must be equally good for B, under circumstances diametrically opposite. This is the doctrine of medical empirics, with their nostrums and panaceas. We have never conversed with a single individual *acquainted with India*, and for whose opinion we should entertain the slightest respect upon other points, who has not unequivocally declared that a free press in that country would work its utter ruin in a few years. Indeed, this is so obvious a truth, that with the exception of those who think upon all subjects in one way, we know not who would dispute it. The state of society in India is so utterly unlike that of any European country, and the form of government which that state of society requires, is also so dissimilar to any European form of government, that it appears one of the wildest dreams of pure radicalism to wish the establishment of a free press. Like all the innovations of our political quacks,

effects are confounded with causes. In every country, free institutions precede freedom of discussion, and these institutions themselves must be preceded by a certain progress in knowledge and civilization on the part of the people. Without this preparation, which is the slow work of time, to attempt to establish any insulated portion by anticipation, would be about as wise as to endeavour to teach an infant how to wield a drawn sabre. Let him have the strength and discretion of a man before you put such an instrument into his hands. We are unwilling to accuse those who have advocated the establishment of a free press in India, with the design of bringing about the loss of our possessions in that quarter, but we cannot acquit their proceedings of the direct tendency to produce that result. They may err from ignorance; but ignorant presumption is often more mischievous, because less capable of being acted upon by force of reason, than intelligent hostility."

It may be said that the Courier takes a particular side in politics. Granted; yet on this subject it is uninfluenced by party feeling, and reasons with discrimination and good sense.

I should hardly have the temerity to think of opposing such formidable papers as the Times and Morning Chronicle, who, with their luminous, powerful, and able writing, would soon annihilate a poor feeble soldier like myself. Happily it is not required, for neither of these celebrated journals has advocated the necessity or expediency of a free press in India: they know it is incompatible with the state of the country, and have on the *general* question, with their usual good sense and liberality, taken up a neutral position.

Considering the importance of the question,

little has been said by the public,—not because it is one not of domestic policy, but because the great mass of thinking persons know it is uncalled for in India, and its application to an inflammable, ambitious, and subjugated people, fraught with imminent danger to the prosperity and eventual safety of the state.

By a few individuals much has been said and written; but as I speak from unimpeachable facts, am unprejudiced, and argue from practical knowledge, it does not follow, that because a man can speak by the hour, or write by the quire against time, that I am obliged to believe that the moon is made of green cheese, or that the waters of the ocean are sweet, *when I know* to the contrary.

CHAPTER V.

" Truths would you teach, or save a sinking land,
All hear, none aid you, and few understand."

The Evening newspaper, (as quoted in the last Chapter) having appropriately adduced a practical illustration, I will in this place put a case in point. We will, for the sake of argument, suppose it possible, that the gentlemen (about a dozen) who, in the House of Commons and at the India House, have strongly urged the necessity of a free press, had it in their power to conquer the island of St. Domingo from the blacks, and to supersede the authority of President Boyer,—would they, in the event of becoming governors and possessors of that island, suffer the native population to write and publish what they pleased? Certainly they would not! Again, if these persons formed themselves into a company, and disposed of St. Domingo stock to the public, they would find it go off but slowly, and at a depreciated rate, when the purchasers found that unreserved freedom of discussion was to be allowed to the subdued race, and that their dominion was to be founded on the

good behaviour or loyalty of the population. Not one of the dozen persons to whom I have alluded would think of doing any thing of the kind; on the contrary, they in all probability, in becoming responsible officers, and deeply interested in the welfare of their settlement, would shackle the press, and restrain their own subjects in every way, so as to ensure the stability of their dominions, and the prosperity of their rule. We should hear nothing of "mental degradation," "enslaved minds," or "the march of reason," &c. &c., that is now so profusely quoted. Interest and danger would alike urge them to secure their administration by every legal means in their power. And yet these very same gentlemen, with the best motives, would have that done for India which they would not allow to be done in foreign colonies, where they themselves held sway.

Many men are so inveterately imbued by party spirit, that *every* thing which is not done according to their system must be wrong; and were an angel to come down from heaven, he would not convince them to the contrary. How lamentable it is to see able and amiable men advocate that which they, in similar power and situation, would oppose and utterly reject!

My eloquence will not influence, it is to be feared, some of the zealous supporters of a free press; this I the more regret, from the great respect I bear to them collectively and individually:

but as I probably cannot change their sentiments by a disquisition on the subject,—an event I sorrowfully anticipate,—I am not without hopes that the plain matter of fact analogy will have some weight. To persons of a plain and unprejudiced understanding, the thing must appear as clear as the sun at noon-day.

We need not, in our researches after truth and practical reasoning, go to the West Indies. The Ionian Islands offer a clear confirmation of what I have advanced. The King's government there will not allow the natives either to speak or write what they please; they are placed under certain *salutary* restrictions, and no man questions the necessity of it. In these islands, where the higher orders, and many of the commonalty, are a part of the government, restrictive or coercive measures would not appear to be so imperiously called for as among our subdued but powerful subjects in the East, where the distance is so much greater, and our rule maintained by a more uncertain tenure than in the Mediterranean. Indeed, in the Ionian Islands there may be said to be "a public;" and the divisions of society met with in Europe there exist and act as a corresponding check upon the mass of the people; whereas in India, it is a few conquerors reigning over an immensely numerous people, distinct in religion, in habits, and in ideas, as possibly can be.

Reference has frequently been made,—and with

good reason, from his high public character and great private worth,—to Sir John Malcolm's opinions on a free press in India. Did any doubts exist in my own mind on the utter incompatibility of a free press with a despotic government among a conquered people, assuredly Sir John Malcolm's sentiments would *instanter* set all doubts at rest; I will give the passage entire as I find it:—

"But with regard to a free press in India, my opinion has been, from the first moment the question was agitated, the same as it is at present. I never could understand that the respectable English inhabitants of India, composed as they are of the civil and military servants of the government, and of persons residing under a license that can be withdrawn at any period, could form what an Englishman would designate a public, to whose independent sentiments a free press, like that which happily exists in our native country, could address itself. Far less could I think that so powerful an instrument for good or evil could (in their present stage of society) be intrusted to our Indian subjects. We should, I am satisfied, by such a premature effort for their advancement in knowledge, incur the most imminent hazard of frustrating all those more rational plans that have been formed and are in progress for their prosperity and improvement."

To put the hazard alluded to out of the question, I deny that the boast about freedom of discussion is solid, when it is stated that it would improve the condition of the people; so far from doing that, it would, by causing tumults and civil war, demoralize the population, and produce unspeakable horrors and crimes. They would be enlightened, no doubt; but the first effects of that

would be to convince them of their real power and resources, and of our weakness. It is an established axiom, that "knowledge is power," and the first use the natives of India would make of it would be in cutting our throats with all imaginable haste. They would have abundance of printed authority for so doing, and revolutionary doctrines ready manufactured, to prove that a subdued people have a right to be free; and by the same reasoning could see, that we have no right to be in India.

If we want to lose India, in God's name colonize it at once! Let loose the bloodhounds of rapacity and cruelty, to deluge the fair plains of Hindoostan with blood, murder by scores the mild inoffensive Hindoos, ravish their innocent females, renew the scenes practised by the Pizarros and Cortezes of South America, revive the proceedings of the blood-thirsty French revolutionists in St. Domingo. You have the example of Christian nations for your deeds, and the authority of the Mahomedans to guide you; the philanthropist will be rejoiced at improving the mind; the fanatic will glory in the punishment of an idolater; the desperate and needy adventurer will find employment and plunder at the price of blood; the nation will get rid of its superfluous population; and the scum of society, and the sweepings of the jails, will in India find a comfortable home, with little labour, and less cares. What an addition it

will be to the rural economy of the now happy Hindoo village, where a crime or riot does not happen once in half a century, to see a treadmill; with half a dozen enlightened and reformed Hindoo females, performing their lazy evolutions! Happy, thrice happy change!

Strange as it may appear, the extraordinary fertility of the soil and the mild habits of the peasant would be a curse to the country on colonization taking place, for the former would give the European the means of existence without much labour, and the latter would furnish him a peaceful race of men, of whom he would make slaves. The heat of the country, always productive of lazy and luxurious habits, would, with the stranger long accustomed to penury and hard labour at home, corrupt and destroy the few virtues he might have brought with him on his first arrival; but his inclinations and passions, sharpened by the restraints and miseries long experienced in his native country, would in India blaze forth with uncontrollable and destructive fury. This must be the case with persons who find themselves suddenly emancipated from laborious employment, great privations, and much wretchedness, and transplanted into a paradise abounding with all the necessaries and luxuries of life; then would the dormant propensities of man have a free range, and it would not be in the power of any government, or in the wisdom of any laws, in a vast

extent of country like India, to check his iniquitous and desolating career. The plenteousness and cheapness of the ardent spirits made in India, and those of an inferior kind being procurable in abundance by merely tapping the date, the cocoa nut, and other trees, would furnish the dissolute European with the greatest seduction to vice and crime ready at his hands; and the attractive qualities of the pretty Hindoo female (a far different creature in manners, morals, and temper to the heavy, uncouth, and masculine female peasant of Europe) would cause unspeakable horrors; for rather than they would submit to pollution, they would destroy themselves by hundreds, and their daughters would cheerfully follow their example. This is but one feature in the picture of colonization; I could adduce *facts* connected therewith, as regards the lower orders of Europeans, that would not be believed; but I must not wander from the subject before us; suffice it to say, that with the native princes, with their ministers, and with the native armies, colonization would be productive of the most mischievous consequences, and in its course must gradually subvert, and finally extinguish, the British authority. It cannot indeed for a moment be doubted; and when we know the designs, and have seen the actions of malcontents and revolutionists in England, the crimes perpetrated, and horrors committed, we can form a pretty fair estimate of what would

be the sufferings of the poor helpless Hindoo, on the event of unrestrained importations of the sensual, vicious, and abandoned thousands drawn forth from every corner of Europe.

What are the natives to gain by being newly fashioned? Are they only to receive our very few virtues, and reject our numerous vices? At present they have few, very few evil propensities, and still fewer vices; and in their search after knowledge, through the medium of a free press, I suppose they are expected to imitate that only which is good and amiable, and reject that which is corrupt and bad! I take exactly the converse of the suggestion, and, from the nature of man, think they would become worse instead of better by the change. It must be recollected that they are not savages, nor negroes, formed of rude materials that may be moulded to any shape.

We have now done with the European and native part of the population of British India, and it only remains to speak of another part of the people miscalled a public, namely, the East India Company's officers, civil and military. This is delicate ground to tread on: I have the honour to be one of that body, and have a son educating for India; but what is this to me? nothing! I speak fearlessly from conscience and principle; and while thus fortified, and intending to offend no one whatsoever, I shall cheerfully pursue my task without looking to the right or left.

No body of men, of equal numbers, in any part of the world, are to be found with minds so richly cultivated, of more polished manners, and possessing more general and useful acquirements, than the Company's servants. It may be accounted for by their receiving the best of education, undergoing strict examinations, entering the service young, and being of respectable parentage. Another great reason is, that those who are ambitious and look to advancement, know it is only to be obtained by superior qualifications. Society in India is refined and select; and dull and negligent indeed must be that man who, if neglected in his youth, does not take a higher and improved tone from the daily example he meets with.

It will be asked, among such an estimable and respectable body how can a free press be productive of any evil? We will answer this shortly. Many men fancied that they possessed talents which the government did not properly notice; they became dissatisfied, and vented their ill-humour in anonymous writings, often erroneous in their statements, and vindictive in their expressions. Sometimes an attack was made on their immediate superiors, which, if not erroneous, was highly coloured and distorted. The effect of this was, often, to bring their seniors into contempt; and the junior branches of the service were led to believe that the government, or their superior officers, instead of deserving their appro-

bation and respect, only merited their ridicule and contempt. In small bodies in the interior, nothing could be more mischievous than this; for it produced parties, and consequently pique and resentment, where, before this freedom of discussion existed, nothing but good-will and esteem were found. It could not possibly be permitted in *small* societies that one man of talent and disappointed ambition was to sow the seeds of discord, and censure that authority which it was his bounden duty to respect. In short, this feeling had got to a great height, as I well know. An instance once occurred, where an officer of rank, highly respectable, but very weak, objected to a necessary and required exertion of power, simply because he was afraid of "being put in print." The evil did not end here; the natives often heard the particulars, and too often formed prejudiced opinions in cases where they, as soldiers, had no right to think.

The native officer and Siphauee always feel most keenly the situation of their immediate superior European officer, to whom their attachment and devotion is boundless—his good or evil fortune is alike a source of joy or grief to his military followers; and this affection exists in consequence of the European officer respecting the customs and religious prejudices of the Siphauee.

Men who, in the course of their military duties, had rendered the most trifling services, found

themselves neglected and injured, if they were not immediately provided for by the government; this was found impossible in many cases, and the same laudable ambition which led to services of enterprise and exertion, led the same estimable men to figure off in print; they fancied they were ill-used, and had just cause to attack the administration: thus, from high-minded and well-educated men many well-written and plausible statements were issued; and though the parties afterwards, when their reason was a little sobered, and their judgment matured by experience, regretted their vituperation, still the mischief was done, the government was insulted and often deceived, hostile feelings were produced; and the natives were told to think that things went on wrong, and that they themselves had many and great causes of complaint. Slighted service, like slighted love, is hasty and intemperate; nothing is seen in a clear light; and excited and impassioned feelings lead us into error and folly.

A soldier is wedded to the government; it is his own choice, and, while in that state, his duty alone is to obey, to approve of the government, and support them in all their measures: it is not for him to think, (that is left to others,) much less to write and publish his opinions while on actual service in India. But merit, though duly appreciated, cannot at all times be recompensed; nay, if the public authorities were determined to

reward all the meritorious and deserving officers of the Indian army, they would, in fact, have to make an extra provision for nearly the whole army! It will be said that this eulogium is undeserved, and that I am partial to my brethren. I admit that I esteem them; but it shall not lead me into an obtuseness of vision, in viewing their chivalrous actions, their proud spirit, their great accomplishments, the honour of their actions, or the suavity of their manners and the urbanity of their dispositions. I will speak with candour, and, I trust, with truth.

CHAPTER VI.

"Every great example of punishment has in it some tincture of injustice, but the sufferings of individuals are compensated by the promotion of the public good." TACITUS.

I WISH, in speaking of those I love dearly, lest I may be charged with an undue bias, to repeat what others have said of the Indian army.

Lord Hastings is a nobleman probably as well acquainted with the world as any man; himself high-minded, possessing great and varied talents, —a statesman, a soldier, and a man of the first polish. During the late Mahratta war, while up the country, he had great and frequent intercourse with the armies; and he declared, in a public document, "that he was astonished, among so large a body, at finding so much intellectual endowment, cultivated understanding, amiable manners, and irreproachable conduct; and that no body of men in the world, equally respectable and as numerous, were to be met with." Another authority, from a popular and impartial Review (the 'Universal'), may be adduced in support of what I have advanced:—

"Nor do we mean any disrespect to one part of a highly honoured profession, when we express an opinion, that the qualities just mentioned are more frequent and more prominent in the British officers of the Company's native regiments, than in those of any other military body in the world. This is doubtless owing to local circumstances, to which a brief allusion will not be misplaced. The difference is obvious, between the young ensign, who ordinarily passes his noviciate in a depôt at home, and the cadet, who, at the age of seventeen or eighteen, is withdrawn from the countenance and support of his friends, and who is liable to be called upon, immediately after his landing in a foreign country, to exercise, in a situation of considerable trust, the prudential qualities of command,—more difficult to practise at that age than courage, generosity, and enterprise. Need we make the remark, that such a situation is calculated to extend the circle of the young officer's faculties, and to make him display mental resources, which, under other circumstances, might for ever have remained dormant? But that which appears to be the principal cause of the distinctive character of the Company's officers, is the practice of spreading a native regiment in small detachments over a considerable district."

It will be readily admitted, that however respectable and estimable a large body of men collectively may be, individuals will always be found dissatisfied and splenetic; but even with persons of an amiable and mild temperament, slighted services or neglected talents will influence the best of men. Thus it was in some cases in India; and had the persons alluded to, in their complaints or remonstrances, confined themselves to their own solitary cases, the evil of anonymous assaults, through the medium of an unlicensed press, would

have been attended with but little public inconvenience; but unhappily this was not the case, and I can prove it, for latent attacks were made on the government, by calling public attention to abuses, to malpractices, and to iniquitous measures pursued in the provinces, by the revenue and judicial officers of the state. This was often utterly unfounded, and at all times exaggerated; but the hidden assailant gratified his own evil passions, by calumniating those officers that he durst not, and could not, assail unmasked. If the charges were probable or true, the anonymous writer well knew, if he made an acknowledged and direct appeal to the government, they would gladly and thankfully listen to his statements; and Heaven send those a good deliverance, whether civil or military, who are thus brought to the notice of the government, particularly if the delinquency or misconduct has in any way compromised or injured the *native*.

The civil servant is instantly removed from his employment and salary of from 2,000 or 5,000 rupees per month, and reduced to his stipulated pension of 350, and sent to rusticate. Nor is this the only punishment—that very unpalatable thing, a "*printed general order*," conveys to the service his sentence, and not a very gratifying account of his misdeeds. With the soldier it goes equally hard; he is removed from his appointment, brought to a court-martial, and has to run the gauntlet of the whole service, with an ugly-looking "printed

general order" appended to his tail. After a few years' purgation, he may obtain an inconsiderable employment, and spend his days in an inglorious and heart-breaking retreat. In India there is no borough influence to plead the cause of the culprit, no noble or powerful family interest to advocate his fallen fortunes; none at all; and all those auxiliaries known in England to assist a gentleman in a dilemma are unknown in India. He must rise by his merit, or fall by his imprudence. I must know something of these matters; and having served in various capacities in Malabar, the Deccan, and Guzerat—in the Carnatic and Mysore—in Bengal, Bahar, and Berar, abundance of opportunities have fallen to my lot, by which I have acquired some little knowledge of the natives and their rulers. In short, the little I know is not sea-coast information.

It cannot be supposed that the civil or military officer, filling a high and responsible post, and surrounded by a dozen natives of rank, men of talent, address, and observation, and possessed of intriguing and captious minds, would expose himself to their inquiry and censure; or that he would commit himself in the eyes of watchful and ambitious people,—who would, from interested or vexatious motives, be sure to bring his conduct to the notice of the government.

At this part of my subject I wish to be particularly understood; for many charges have been

brought against the Indian and home administration, under various heads, as tyranny, oppressions, misrule, malversation, extortion, &c. &c. practised in the maritime and distant provinces of British India. I challenge a single or solitary instance to be produced, where degradation and punishment have not followed the delinquent, and every possible reparation been afforded to the country, community, or persons who may have suffered. What I require to be shown is, an unpunished act of any of the local officers, or a wanton act of injustice or illiberality inflicted by the government itself on any of its subjects, be they black or white. I deny that one instance can be produced. I do not wish any long-winded wire-drawn stories, or political disquisitions finer than a "spider's web:" I want the plain matter of fact, with *time*, *place*, *and person*, so that it may be enclosed in a nutshell. It always puts me in a fever when I see a terribly long letter or argument, when a dozen words would answer every possible purpose. It must be dull, it is often unintelligible, and generally defeats itself.

We will now resume the topic about disappointed persons publishing anonymous attacks on the chief civil and military officers of the provinces; the effects of these calumnies and overcharged statements had a most mischievous tendency on the minds of the natives, who read them with avidity, and implicitly believed them; it was

with those persons that the baneful influence was fully felt. The revenue, judicial, and military officers felt themselves hampered and annoyed by the very persons to whom they looked for assistance and respect; and, living under certain laws and restrictions, the native, in being thus deceived, and having his mind excited into a belief of the mismanagement and ill state of the province, if these improper writings and reports did not at once produce anarchy and confusion, they certainly nourished discontent and ill blood.

This must be quite evident to persons who will take the trouble to think, and have the goodness to recollect that the population is restless, very numerous, and very ambitious, and that they are kept in check only by the native Siphauee: men of the same colour, born in the same village, and professing the same religion and customs; and further, let it not be forgotten, that in the province where probably the population is 40,000, there are not twenty European officers to regulate public feeling, and to awe popular commotion or quell revolt.

Is it not clear, that in such a state of things freedom of discussion cannot possibly exist? Every attack on the public authorities must be productive of evil; and as it spreads and increases, it must produce revolution and ruin. I declare solemnly I speak in the sincerity of my heart; and am almost convinced that the sensible

and impartial part of the British people and British press will allow the justness of my observations, and accord in my view of this great and important question. Important it is, for on it hinges, not merely the tranquillity of India, but also whether it is to remain in our possession or not. In fine, so convinced am I of the correctness of my ideas on the subject, that I would cheerfully, on my bended knees at the altar, take the sacrament, and subscribe to the most solemn oath that could be devised, that "I believe a 'free press in India' would be the cause of civil war, revolution, and our final expulsion from the continent of Asia."

In the event of the country again reverting to the hands of the Mussulmans, their former bloodthirsty and barbarous rule would be revived with a twofold force; it is well known they would never tolerate in their Hindoo subjects the freedom of discussion or writing, so that the Hindoo, in losing his old masters, would have good reason to curse the day that he became enlightened by the *blessings* of a free press—and was taught the doctrines of sedition and revolt. It is with poignant regret that I am compelled, by my love of truth, to say that the same observation strictly applies to the establishment of the Christian faith in India. The Mahomedan would never permit his Hindoo subjects to profess a new religion which he holds in profound contempt, and always (when in power)

treats with ineffable abhorrence, calling Europeans "dogs" and "disbelievers." The Mussulman of India is a fac-simile of the Turk—and their character and government are too well known to make it necessary to dilate thereon.

Break down the great barrier of caste among the people of India, and give the people political knowledge, and the freedom of using it, and I would not give a shilling in the pound for all the India stock, home and foreign.

Will any man of an unprejudiced mind, acquainted or unacquainted with India security, tell me, that, under the circumstances I have detailed, 100 millions of people would be governed by forty-five thousand Europeans,—which is the full extent of our numerical strength, including troops, officers, and settlers?

We have one more military case; and it is so much to our purpose, that I cannot too earnestly impress it on the serious attention of my countrymen; I mean the unhappy dissensions which existed in 1808 between the Madras army and the government; the dismissal of several officers (some of rank), the removal of the Governor, and the visit of Lord Minto, who, by his firm, but conciliatory conduct, restored in some degree the public tranquillity, and probably prevented a convulsion that threatened to shake India to its very foundation. The complaints of the army were redressed, and all the officers, except three, were reinstated;

but let me ask, among the native princes, our native armies, and with discontented and turbulent Europeans, what would have been the issue had an unlicensed press been in existence? The answer to this question is quite clear—the intelligence, with every possible exaggeration, would have moved with the rapidity of lightning; the native princes would instantly have been set in motion, and every corner of the country, and every branch of our native population, would assuredly have been infected by the pestiferous breath of calumny and treason. It is not improbable, either, that the disturbances might have extended to *other* portions of the *native* Indian army, who, if they had not the complaints of their brethren at Madras, might still seize the opportunity to exact boons from the government; in fact, there is no knowing to what an extent the evil might have reached, had false and highly-coloured statements gone abroad at this momentous and dreadful period. Do not imagine, reader, that I am indulging in vague speculation; nothing of the kind; I was at *that very period doing duty* with the Madras army, and had positively a letter of mine, containing four sheets of paper, and directed to England, opened and returned to me from the post-office. At a period like that I have been describing, the good people at home would begin to be a little alarmed; they would *then* (when too late) see the folly of their philanthropy, and regret

that they had not pursued the same course of policy which for the *last* half century has made the Indian administration an example to the whole continent of Europe. We should begin to think of the good things of India, the gold mohurs, the pagodas, and the rupees,—of their silks, cottons, sugars, indigo, drugs, teak timber, &c.—of our exports to that rich and fertile country, and of the fortunes (upwards of three millions) annually brought home and spent in England. Perhaps we might think of our sons, and brothers, and nephews, who were magnanimously having their throats cut, for the patriotic purpose of improving the moral condition of the people, and enlightening their minds. What an uproar, in such a case, should we have at home!—king's ships and king's soldiers would be hastened away,—we should have speeches unlimited in number, and unmeasurable in length; but as is the case in the West Indies, we could not *unspeechify* the evils we had produced by our kind-hearted, sensitive, amiable philanthropy. Great Britain might then be not unaptly likened to the hero in the following well-known nursery rhyme:

"Humpty dumpty sat upon a wall—
Humpty dumpty had a great fall;
Not all the king's horses nor all the king's men
Could set Humpty dumpty upon the wall again."

CHAPTER VII.

"For him who, lost to every hope of life,
Has long with fortune held unequal strife,
Known to no parent's love, no human care,
The friendless, homeless object of despair."

THERE is a class of society in India to whom I have not at all alluded, because, during the present century, neither their numerical strength nor importance gives them a preponderating weight in the community. I need hardly say I allude to Indo-Britons, or *half-castes*, the offspring of European fathers and native mothers. In the discussion we are now pursuing, attention must be called to this respectable and loyal body of people. The question will fall under review, more for the purpose of drawing attention to their moral than to their political condition.

It is much to be desired that some progressive and gradual measures were introduced for their amelioration, but it would be worse than madness to grant them the immunities, or place them in the situations at present filled by Europeans only. Some attention has of late been bestowed upon them, and no one more than myself applauds the

wisdom and liberality of a late act of government, by which they may possess land in any part of our territories. Most of these persons receive a good education, are intelligent, and inherit from their fathers some portion of the energy and enterprise of the English character. I am by no means unwilling to admit but that there are many who have a keen sense of the disregard with which they are treated, and are impatient and dissatisfied with their station in society; and, with that portion of an amiable class of people, nothing can be more certain than that unlicensed liberty of writing and publishing would produce much ferment, and eventually disastrous results. They are high-minded from their accomplishments; proud, because their progenitors, probably, have filled high situations; confident of their powers, from the English blood that flows in their veins. With these qualities, they possess in the admixture of blood the address, industry, and acuteness of the native; the latter qualities are sharpened and improved by their English education and habits; altogether it may be supposed that they are vastly superior to the natives, and many of them but little inferior to their European ancestors; in short, there is much to admire in their character, and much to be lamented in their political situation. But from this class I never apprehended any danger; true, they are rapidly increasing,—but they are docile and loyal, and so closely by

ties of consanguinity identified with the English, that while a vigilant and conciliating policy is pursued with regard to them, no fears need be entertained.

It would be a singular act of inconsistency and monstrous injustice that, because they are natives of the soil, they should be exempted from the salutary and wise restrictions placed on Europeans with regard to the "free press." They themselves never thought of such a thing till lately, when more enterprising and ambitious men instilled into their minds "strange doctrines," and gave an impetus to their feelings by an example of a systematic opposition and censure of the government. They were, as with the pure native, made a cat's paw of; and it would be a sorry reflection to suppose that the British authorities would be deceived by such a flimsy pretext, or that they would not have the wisdom and firmness to suppress pure and unqualified radicalism, from whatsoever quarter it might emanate. The judge, in the late proceedings in the Supreme Court at Calcutta, very properly says—

"He had heard his character from men who knew him well, and men who were qualified to judge of his merits; and every thing he had heard of him was in his favour; but it was his opinion that the name of that gentleman had been used in such a manner as a government like this could not possibly endure. If he had been a British subject, and committed an offence against the British government to-day, he might be ordered to depart from the country to-morrow. Yet what is the insolent boast?

That he is free from all control of the government, and amenable to this court alone. That is, that he may print and publish any thing, however seditious and destructive of this government's authority; that he may continue such publications at pleasure; and that they cannot even be questioned until the next sessions, which will be in June. And although a bill of indictment may be found against him, he may perhaps traverse over until October, giving him all the intermediate time to bring the government into hatred and contempt, and to hold it in open defiance."

In the cause of humanity I do not mind wandering a little from the direct subject now before us; and in so doing, I hope to be guided by the candour of a soldier, and the benevolence of a Christian. It is not much of a digression, for it relates entirely to the Indo-Briton. There are monsters that I have known, who, after begetting native children, and accumulating large fortunes, have quitted India *for ever*, leaving their offspring totally unprovided for; have arrived in England, have married an Englishwoman, bought a large estate, and dashed away splendidly, quite forgetting that their children in India, to whom they had given a wretched existence, were in want of bread, or paupers on society, whilst the parent revelled in luxury and dissipation—

"Would look gay, and smile against his conscience."

When a youth, and returning from my first voyage to India, I was earnestly implored by a young gentleman of irreproachable character to wait on his father, an old Indian of large fortune,

at —— Park, in the county of B——, and represent his distressed situation, with three legitimate children, and a salary, as a *cranny* (clerk), of only sixty rupees a month. He had attained, by his own industry, a good education; this, probably, in his distressed situation, increased, rather than assuaged, the anguish of his mind. On my arrival in England, I went down to the Park; it was not half a day's journey,—but the affectionate father, the tender parent, was not to be seen. That rebuff would not suit the ardour of my temperament, and I insisted upon seeing him, and at last succeeded. After a short private conversation (for he did not wish his dear wife and dear children to know of his misdeeds in India), he made an engagement to meet me in Baker-street; to this he honourably pledged himself, and as honourably broke his engagement. I did not fail, young as I then was, to *favour* him with my sentiments. On my return to India, finding the ill success of my mission with the other, his son retired from the room where we had been sitting, and blew his brains out with a pistol.—I will give another instance of baseness and cruelty; and I am not without hopes that these facts may lead to a beneficial and practicable result. A person of large fortune (it would be an insult to humanity to say a gentleman) was retiring from India; and his son and daughter, having received their education in England, had imbibed with their knowledge

some portion of our spirit, and they insisted that their fond and doting parent (in which character he chose to appear while in India,) should leave 40,000 rupees, for their joint lives, in his agent's hands, the interest of which they were to draw for their mutual benefit monthly. This was regularly done for a year and upwards; but the young man having obtained a trifling situation, and the father in England finding that his dear English wife spent his dear sicca rupees rather fast, he drew out of the agent's hands the 40,000 rupees, and wrote to his dear son, "that now he had got employment he could maintain himself and sister genteelly." Great God! will monsters like these have the impudence to call themselves Christians and gentlemen, who have

> "Disclaimed all paternal care,
> Propinquity, and property of blood!"

But such things are, I do assure you, reader, and both these circumstances I can prove beyond all doubt. I have promised to write my adventures and opinions, under the head of "Travelling Memoranda for twenty years in India;" a few events and anecdotes of an extraordinary and interesting kind will appear in their true undisguised dress.

These two little anecdotes are not improperly introduced, nor I hope uselessly brought before the Indian authorities, or the good folks from or

connected with India. It will be seen, as we go on, that they are not unconnected with the main subject of India, and the free press.

As before observed, I would not grant the *Indo-Britons* a free press; but, in the name of justice and common humanity, I would grant them a substantial and available benefit, and which I now humbly propose to the rulers of India.

It is for no one to deny but that it is our imperative duty to endeavour, by every safe and practicable means, to ameliorate the state of these persons. One measure appears to me to promise them some comfort and provision; there may be objections to the suggestion, but none, compared to the permanent interests of a large and deserving body of people; nor can we here go fully into the merits or objections which may exist to the adoption of my proposal. It simply is this, that no European (be he a governor, or judge, or a general, a licensed settler, or any other person,) shall be allowed to take his *final* leave of India until he has, to the satisfaction of the government, made a due provision, according to his means, for his offspring by native women. It is incalculable what misery and wretchedness would be prevented by such a judicious and salutary measure, and how many young and worthy people would be rescued from want and destruction.

The gaieties of England, the blandishments of a young and probably an artful wife, and the en-

dearments of a brood of *legitimates* at home, will influence the father to forget those whom he has caused to be brought into the unfeeling world, where they are thrown in a state of destitution and helplessness worse than any thing of the kind can be in England. They can have no maternal relatives, and the paternal ones disclaim them; they know their parent to be affluent and elevated in society; their despondency is aggravated by the very circumstance which in others is productive of happiness; nor does their superior education, or English ideas, at all tend to remedy the evil. Those worthy persons in England, overseers of parishes, take especial care that no children shall become chargeable to the parish, or to a community; and the same thing, upon a more extended and liberal scale, ought and must be done in India. It is not an act of kindness; it is an act of *justice.*

Our regulations preclude these persons from serving as covenanted servants, in either civil or military capacities; then surely it is our duty to protect them in their just rights against the unfeeling or rapacious parent. I do not say that the treatment of which I complain is frequent—God forbid that I should utter such a libel on human nature; but it has occurred, and will again; and it is to prevent its recurrence that this suggestion is thrown out. Another just complaint the Indo-Briton has against his prospects;

the numerous importation of young men from England, who go as clerks, factors, &c. &c., to the evident injury of the class we are speaking of. These young persons go out well recommended to some house of business, or person in power, who make it a point to provide for them, and thus deprive the native-born youth of his bread. There ought to be a limit set to the number of free merchants* and free mariners. Political reasons, as well as the unquestionable claims of the above class, imperatively demand that a limit should be placed to the importation of either free or *smuggled* Europeans. It is not only necessary that the number of licensed persons should be limited, but a check, and a strong one, ought to be placed upon the "country cousins," who clandestinely go out as seamen, and as such are borne on the books, while they are nothing of the kind, consider themselves as gentlemen, and mess at the captain's table; this dangerous and illegal mode of getting people to India does not apply

* Among this class of society are some of the most intelligent, respectable, and wealthy persons in India, established for years, and often members of the first houses of business in London; but since the "Free Trade Act," some few of a very different character have found their way to India: happily for the natives their operations are confined to the capitals (no more *Ondé* settlers); there is no occasion to particularise parties, but the good-natured and confiding Hindoo has often been *astonished* by his European *friends*.

alone to the free traders, but to the East India Company's regular Indiamen, as I well know, from having been two voyages to India before I went out as a cadet of 1807. In short, this evil has got to that extent, that many a valuable military appointment in the service of the Native powers, the undoubted and just property of the Company's military officers, is obtained by these adventurers, whose interest, and the influence of their powerful friends, surmount every obstacle, to the manifest injury of the well-tried veteran, and of the Indo-Briton.

Another source of injury, not only to the latter, but even to my brethren, exists in the King's service. It frequently happens, that in corps ordered home, officers will sell out, or, after making others do *their* duty in their own regiment for a *number of years*, will have accumulated such property in the situations I have referred to, as enables them to purchase a majority or a company, when they turn round and laugh at their own officers who have done their duty, and at us, who have been thus deprived of that to which, by long and zealous service and a knowledge of the country and its languages, we have unquestionable claims. I forbear, from motives of attachment to two or three individuals, to go further into detail on this particular point, but it is not a want of knowledge of the facts and persons that prevents me. In licenses to free

settlers, their duty to the rulers, their obedience to all orders, with sundry other judicious and salutary regulations, should be clearly and explicitly defined, and their bondsmen or securities should be taught to perfectly understand the nature of the contract, civil and political:—

> "Make assurance doubly sure,
> And take a bond of fate!"—

We shall then hear no more of complaints in the parties, outrageous conduct towards the government, or of excitement given to public feeling, either in India or England. The road will then be clear, and it will be the settler's own fault if he commits himself. There can be no objection to this, it is strictly legal; and it is no more than just to inform a person proceeding to a domicile 7,000 miles distant, of the acts of the legislature and of the municipal laws of the country. He cannot err then; if he does, it is his own fault, and he must abide by the consequences. One of the ancient sages observes—"To make an empire durable, the magistrates must obey the laws, and the people the magistrates." If the settler does that, I would pledge my head (were it worth any thing) that the government will in no wise molest or annoy him. He must not, however, think of harassing or annoying them. Do not let him have the temerity or vanity of running his

head into the lion's mouth; if he does, he assuredly will get it nipped off. Weak and contemptible indeed must that government be; who would receive the dictation or the insults of its subjects, without preventing the recurrence of the former and punishing the latter—a government too like that of India, resting on a mine of gunpowder, which the least spark would explode, leaving behind a night of eternal darkness and horror.

I shall in this place offer a passage from my late publication,* that I may not be charged with inconsistency, or that I have engrafted my ideas on what has been said in the House of Commons and at the India House. The passage alluded to will exculpate me from having *lately* imbibed my notions; for as the paragraph was originally written in 1810, and revised in January 1824, the latter period being about three months *before* the subject was publicly discussed, or had appeared in print, it will be evident to those who like to quarrel with dates, that I have not very *recently* adopted my sentiments on the "free press in India."

"I am free to confess, notwithstanding the innate and invincible abhorrence with which I view any arbitrary proceeding in a government towards its subjects, that the application of an educated, wealthy, and restless body of people, to the right of discussing the conduct and merits of the government ought to be received with caution and distrust, as there is no knowing, when

* Wonders of Elora, p. 397.

the spirit is *once awakened,* where it may end; and if we trust our hope in the good behaviour, or sense of propriety, or feelings of attachment or gratitude in the heterogenous mass which composes the population of India, we shall, when too late, find ourselves most miserably deceived."

CHAPTER VIII.

"So drives self-love, through just and through unjust,
To one man's power, ambition, lucre, lust;
The same self-love in all becomes the cause
Of what restrains him, government and laws."

In the foregoing pages I have studiously avoided offending the feelings of any one, and have scrupulously refrained from indulging in any thing like party spirit, cant, or affectation of sentiment, all of which I cordially detest. I have spoken of things truly as they exist, being fully aware of my feeble power in the art of persuading persons into my opinions, or changing the sentiments they have already adopted, as neither nature nor education has given me the power ascribed by Eupolis, when speaking of Pericles—

"On his lips persuasion hung,
And powerful reason rul'd his tongue;
Thus he alone could boast the art
To charm at once and sting the heart."

Lacking "honeyed accents," I have only to depend on plain straight-forward reasoning, and matter-of-fact detail. For the purpose, however, of putting the subject of the free press in India in a clear light before the British public, I will

introduce two or three official opinions and records; and in the subsequent pages I will review the question in a general way, and look at it from the first time the point was mooted down to the present day, noting down and examining the sentiments of several public men, who have advocated the cause in and out of the House of Commons. The first document we extract is of recent date, and its brevity is another recommendation. I leave it to the sensible and impartial public of England, whether, considering the nature of our dominion in the East, the character of the heterogeneous millions over whom we rule, and bearing constantly in mind that they never possessed a free constitution, or any *chartered rights;* I say, considering these paramount reasons, will it be said that there is any thing harsh or unjustifiable in the ordinances contained in the subjoined record?—

"*Fort William, April* 5, 1823.

"The governor-general in council, with reference to the bye-law passed on the 14th ult., and registered in the supreme court on the 4th inst., deems it proper to notify to the proprietors and editors of newspapers and other periodical works, as specified in the aforesaid bye-law, that the publication in any such paper or periodical work, of matter coming under any of the following heads, will subject them to be deprived of the license under which such paper or periodical work may be conducted:—

"1. Defamatory or contumelious reflections against the king or any of the members of the royal family.

"2. Observations or statements touching the character, constitution, measures, or orders of the court of directors, or other

public authorities in England connected with the government of India; or the character, constitution, measures, or orders of the Indian governments; impugning the motives and designs of such authorities or governments, or in any way intending to bring them into hatred or contempt, to excite resistance to their orders, or to weaken their authority.

"3. Observations or statements of the above description, relative to allied or friendly native powers, their ministers, or representatives.

"4. Defamatory or contumelious remarks or offensive insinuations levelled against the governor-general, the governors or commanders-in-chief, the members of council, or the judges of his majesty's courts at any of the presidencies, or the bishop of Calcutta; and publications of any description tending to expose them to hatred, obloquy, or contempt; also libellous or abusive reflections and insinuations against the public officers of government.

"5. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended official interference with their religious opinions and observances, and irritating and insulting remarks on their peculiar usages and modes of thinking on religious subjects.

"6. The republication from English or other papers of passages coming under the foregoing heads.

"7. Defamatory publications tending to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society.

"8. Anonymous appeals to the public relative to grievances of a professional or official nature, alleged to have been sustained by public officers in the service of his majesty or the honourable company."

The generous feeling of the British is soon excited, when a case of private wrong is inflicted on an individual by the government, or by persons in power: it is a natural feeling in the nation, and I

hope never to see it cease, or the day arrive when they shall view with apathy any vindictive or unjust measures of their rulers. It is glorious to see with what alacrity and zeal the public take up the cause of any oppressed individual. This proud feeling of resisting injuries, and succouring the weak, is alike creditable to the press and the public. Other nations may talk of their chivalrous actions, their love of justice, and their zeal in the cause of liberty, but it is the Briton who understands and practises these virtues.

When India is concerned, unfortunately, from ignorance of the country and people, great misapprehension is entertained: knowing nothing of facts, and only seeing deceptive and falsified statements, they are easily misled. Ever on the *qui vive*, when the right of the subject is supposed to be compromised, their zeal and enthusiasm often outrun calm investigation of circumstances; and that unbiassed judgment is lost sight of, by the aid of which alone they can arrive at any fair conclusion.

An idea exists even among well-informed men, that the acts of the government abroad solely originate with the Governor-General—whereas he is only a party in the acts of the state. The Supreme Council at Calcutta (as well as the subordinate councils at Madras and Bombay) consists, first, of the Governor-General, generally a nobleman of high rank and character, and always appointed by

his Majesty's ministers, free from any influence of the East India Company; secondly, the Commander-in-Chief, appointed under similar circumstances to the Governor-General; and from being a servant of the crown, and in every way independent of the Company, one would suppose him to possess honest and unprejudiced sentiments, and, from being a stranger to the country, to be free from local partialities or feelings. In every way they are unrestrained by any ideas of dependence or expectation of favour from the East India Company. The remainder of the council is formed by a selection from the old and tried civil servants of the establishment; and in the selection the Directors at home, for their own interest, take especial care to select able and talented men,—not only that their great experience and knowledge are of the first moment to the welfare of the state, but that the Directors may have men in the council on whom they can depend in the hour of danger and trouble; and it must be evident how necessary their influence and aid must be, where the other two members are at first strangers to every thing connected with and concerning our vast empire in Asia. It may be asserted that the two members, being servants of the Company, are their dependents; this I deny. No public officer, perhaps, of any government, can be more independent than the member of the Supreme Council. In the first place, he has risen

to the highest post he can attain; from this he cannot be removed till the expiration of his five years of council. In a recent Board-of-Council the two civil servants were personally unknown to twenty-two of the Directors out of the twenty-four of which number that body consists, so that it is but honest to conclude that no favouritism or sycophancy had an influence in the nomination; in short, as both of them had not quitted India for upwards of thirty years, it must be clear that their personal influence could not have much weight in Leadenhall-street. These two very gentlemen were the persons that the eloquent Mr. Brougham described in parliament as being two of the most eminent men in India; yet these respectable men were both hostile to a free press.

It would be rather unkind to suppose that they did not possess integrity and judgment, knowledge of that which was right, and a detestation of that which was wrong. It is certainly extremely weak and unchristianlike to assert, that four individuals of high public character, great private worth, and who always possessed the esteem and confidence of their fellow-men, should be set down by a few insulated (and, comparatively speaking, unknown,) individuals, as idiots, tyrants, or sycophants, simply because they have the misfortune to differ with men who are sure to be found in opposition. I need not instance the sentiments of two or three individuals of experience, judgment, and integrity,

We have a host of public men whose opinions can be nothing else than convincing. The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone is decidedly hostile to the free press; and he is the man whom the Edinburgh Review describes as being "indisputably at the head of the Company's Civil Service, in political talent and knowledge."—(No. 50, page 404.) No man in his senses will ever accuse that celebrated Review of subserviency, or anti-liberal principles. Sir Charles Forbes himself, formerly a free merchant in India, and while there, for upwards of thirty years, living under the restrictions to which all Europeans are subject, is averse to a free press. "India was not (he thought) at present in a situation to admit a free press." This is the public opinion of an eminent individual, known at home by the designation of the "liberal-minded Indian," and abroad as the Prince of Merchants. Lord Hastings, unhappily (for himself), with a noble and generous mind that did him the highest honour, tried the experiment, and was obliged to abandon the scheme. He found it would not answer. The great Sir William Jones has declared, "that a free press in India would be worse than the most odious despotism." Mr. Jenkins, at Nagpore, possesses similar sentiments; he is a man inferior to none that I have spoken of, in character, experience, and knowledge. Sir Thomas Monro has his objections on record; we will certainly allow to a man who has raised him-

self from being an ensign in the army to the government of Madras some *little* weight in our discussion, and would *almost* be disposed, were it not for giving offence to the advocates of the measure, to put his judgment and information in competition with any three of our opponents. Mr. Randle Jackson has most ably expressed his opposition to a free press, and no man who has never been out of England possesses better information, or takes a clearer view of Indian topics, than Mr. J.—True, it is said, that as he is employed by the Directors as their legal adviser, his opinions are partial. Persons, in making this illiberal charge, do not recollect, that five hundred instances may be found where he is in direct opposition to the Court of Directors.

Thus, then, we are strengthened by the opinions of some of the ablest men. We have (with one exception, I believe) the unanimous body of the Court of Directors, the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, a vast majority of proprietors of stock, and, last but not least, Lord Amherst, the new governor-general, besides the whole body (with one solitary exception in an evening paper) of the enlightened and generous (and I may add on a question of this nature "tenacious") friends to the free press of Great Britain. Though Buonaparte, the idol of some persons, (and those too may be found censuring the restrictions placed on the press in India,)

imposed the *strictest* censorship on the press, and even went so far as to open letters, and prevent their transmission, when they contained any thing improper—with the Ex-Emperor all this was right. He was a man (according to the opinion of some people) who could not do wrong, and the British Administration cannot do right; and although what has been done is strictly under the sanction of the Legislature, in open day, with every regard to consistency and liberality, yet what a clamour has been raised, and what censure has been bestowed on public men, who did no more than their duty; a duty which they were imperiously called upon to perform, and in enforcing which they were justified by laws, circumstances, and time!

We have now seen what Europeans say on the free press; it remains to be seen what some wealthy natives of Calcutta think on the same question.

It is but very *lately* that these wealthy gentlemen have taken it into their heads to reflect upon the British Administration and its public acts. This is a precious foretaste of what they would think and do hereafter; and yet, poor creatures, they are more to be pitied than censured; a jumble of nonsense has been crammed into their brains which they neither understand, nor care about; but, urged on by designing and ill-disposed Europeans, who have made a cat's paw of them, (as

the renowned Mr. Hunt and Dr. Watson did of their countrymen at home,) they have had the singular effrontery to present a petition to the Governor-General, praying against registering the late ordinance subjecting the press and periodicals to a license. The petition is signed by half a dozen persons; one of whom I know (Dwarka-Nath); another is the well-known and eccentric Ram Mohun Raj, a man who has pretended to become a Christian convert, and has written and spoken a good deal of nonsense, and, by the by, after *all his professions*, has turned Unitarian.

A more precious piece of jesuitical reasoning and impudence I never met with, coming from men *who have reason, every day in their lives, to thank God they are under our rule*; but it is our own fault—the West, as well as the East, Indies afford melancholy proofs of our folly and want of prudence.

To get rid of the nauseous hypocrisy and glaring subterfuges contained in the document, we will at once, lest we get sickened with such impertinence and insult, give an extract:—

"Every *good* ruler, who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature, and reverences the Eternal Governor of the World, must be conscious of the *great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire*, and THEREFORE he will be anxious to afford to every individual the *readiest* means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this *important* object, the *unrestrained liberty of publication* is the only *effectual* means that can be employed."

What shall we say to this, coming as it does from persons, who know that they themselves live under a foreign yoke? What on earth can be more absurd than the foregoing observation, and what can be more dangerous than temporizing with these natives of *rank*, who are alike ambitious and crafty—haughty and rich,—men who possess an inconceivable influence over the minds of the great mass of the conquered millions in our astonishing empire in British India?—One more extract, equally *cogent* and *sound* with the preceding, shall suffice:—

"Your Lordship may have learned, from the works of the *Christian Missionaries*, and also from other sources, that ever since the art of printing has become generally known among the natives of Calcutta, numerous publications have been circulated in the Bengallee language, which, by introducing *free discussion* among the natives, and inducing them to *reflect* and *inquire* after knowledge, have already served greatly to improve their minds and *ameliorate* their *condition*. This desirable object has been chiefly promoted by the establishment of four native newspapers; two in the Bengallee, and two in the Persian language; published for the purpose of *communicating to those residing in the interior of the country* accounts of whatever occurs worthy of notice at the Presidency or in the country; and also the *interesting* and *valuable* intelligence of *what is passing in England*, and in other parts of the world, conveyed through the English newspapers or other channels."

A paragraph more warily written, or with greater subtlety, never was presented to the Supreme Government. According to them the na-

tives are to read nothing that is unfit for them to know—never by any chance to speak or write any thing improper. Oh! no—meek—loyal—and honest creatures!—they only seek after knowledge and science. They are to communicate no intelligence to refractory princes in the interior—no censures or falsehoods regarding their rulers—and from pure friendship they are to refrain from speaking of what is passing in England—a time of troubles or distresses at home *would be unnoticed*, and the native prince would be told to remain quiet, *love* his *conquerors*, and regularly pay his tribute: but a case in point is worth a camel-load of argument. The Madras disturbance would have passed by quite unheeded by these worthy, *disinterested*, and peaceably-disposed "conveyers of intelligence to the interior."

What besotted ignorance, what inveterate apathy, in our Government; and how stupid and unamiable do they appear in not granting the wishes of these Hindoo *philosophers* and *quidnuncs!!*—who now for the FIRST time are beginning to THINK, and who, if let alone, would soon begin to ACT.

CHAPTER IX.

An Examination of Speeches on the Question of a "Free Press in India."

"Caution is the essence of wisdom. Theory is the bane of political economy; for presumptions are made certainties."

MR. LAMBTON, M. P.

THE object of my inquiry at this part of our subject is to explain some fallacies and errors into which honourable gentlemen, who have advocated a free press in India, have fallen. I shall, therefore, humbly endeavour to set them right; and I beg of them to believe, that I am actuated by no motive of hostility or disrespect, and will carry into the discussion that good temper, courtesy, and respect, which is due between gentlemen; fervently hoping that, by a candid, fair, and upright analysis, supported by corroborative facts, they will admit the justness of my intentions and the accuracy of my statements. I have no partial purposes or prejudices to gratify, but I feel it an imperative duty to do my best in explaining matters to those honourable gentlemen, who have not only been deceived themselves, but have been the cause of deceiving others.

We will commence at the time Lord Hastings, in a public speech, (as quoted by Mr. Lambton,) declared his sentiments on the press. This was the beginning of the late unhappy proceedings; and, in fact, from that period, the evil of which I have been all along complaining had its date and source.

" His Lordship made a public declaration of his having removed all restrictions from the press in India, on the occasion of his accepting an address from the British inhabitants of Madras, which contained the highest praise of his Lordship's policy on that account; and in his reply thereto, he not only admitted the fact, but gave in detail his reasons for granting this freedom of discussion; adding his firm conviction, that the liberty of the press must always be a blessing under a good government, and allowing its applicability to the existing state of India, as having nothing to fear from its exercise. The following were, in fact, the terms of Lord Hastings's reply to the *address from Madras, signed by the Chief Justice, the Judges of the Supreme Court, and the law officers, several of the Company's staff officers, the residents of Hydrabad and Nagpore, and* 500 *of the most enlightened gentlemen of the Presidency:*—' You have observed my exertions to diffuse instruction through the extensive region with which we have become thus suddenly intimate. I cannot take credit for more than the having followed the impulse communicated by every British voice around me. Yes; we all similarly confessed the sacred obligation towards a bounteous Providence, of striving to impart to the immense population under our protection that improvement of intellect which we felt to be our own most valuable and dignified possession. One topic remains. My removal of restrictions from the press has been mentioned in laudatory language. I might easily have adopted that procedure, without any length of cautious consideration, from my habit of regarding the freedom of publication as a natural right of my fellow-sub-

jects, to be narrowed only by a special and urgent cause assigned. The seeing no direct necessity for those invidious shackles might have sufficed to make me break them. I know myself, however, to have been guided in the step by a positive and well-weighed policy. If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire our hold on which is opinion. Further, it is salutary for supreme authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of public scrutiny: while conscious of rectitude, that authority can lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general comment; on the contrary, it acquires incalculable addition of force. That government which has nothing to disguise wields the most powerful instrument that can appertain to sovereign rule. It carries with it the united reliance and effort of the whole mass of the governed; and let the triumph of our beloved country in its awful contest with tyrant-ridden France speak the value of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments.' "

I was present at the time these noble sentiments were delivered; they caused a great sensation; many, very many, who were present, admitted that it was well enough in theory, and was applicable to England, but would never answer in India. Lord Hastings had returned flushed with victory, and justly proud of having beaten and subdued his enemies in all directions: he had rendered great benefits to the state * by the wisdom and firmness of conduct he displayed during the war, and thought to bestow an inestimable boon

* For his former services after the termination of the Nepaul war, a grant of 60,000*l.* had been bestowed on Lord Moira, with the creation of Marquis of Hastings.

upon his countrymen by granting them a "free press." Could he have accomplished this, his public career would have had a splendid termination: alas! how much and how severely he was deceived, his subsequent *warnings*, letters, and ordinances, will abundantly testify. He never contemplated that he should be bearded to his face, have his public measures scoffed at, and himself laughed at and defied, by a factious press. The highest object of his ambition was turned against himself, and that which he intended (on which he had set his heart) as a blessing to the community, he very soon found out was a curse. It is but proper to remark, that the members of the Supreme Council objected to the removal of the restrictions, and accordingly protested against their being rescinded. The censorship being thus removed, a fair and temperate warning was given to the editors of the papers for their guidance. It is here annexed.

"To the Editor of the ———

"Sir,—His Excellency the Governor-General in Council having been pleased to revise the existing regulations regarding the control exercised by the Government over the newspapers, I am directed to communicate to you, for your information and guidance, the following resolutions, passed by his Lordship in Council.

"The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads:—

"1st, Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England connected with the government of India; or disquisi-

tions on political transactions of the local administration; or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of the Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

"2d, Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances.

"3d, The republication, from English or other newspapers, of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India.

"4th, Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissention in society.

"Relying on the prudence and discretion of the editors for their careful observance of these rules, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to dispense with their submitting their papers to an officer of Government previous to publication. The editors will, however, be held personally accountable for whatever they may publish in contravention of the rules now communicated, or which may be otherwise at variance with the general principles of British law, as established in this country, and will be proceeded against in such manner as the Governor-General in Council may deem applicable to the nature of the offence, for any deviation from them.

"The editors are further required to lodge in the Chief Secretary's Office one copy of every newspaper, periodical or extra, published by them respectively.

"I am, &c.

"J. Adam, *Chief Sec. to Gov.*

"*Council Chamber, Aug.* 12, 1818."

For a short twelvemonth, things went on smoothly; but the great success of the Calcutta Journal, a vast accumulation in funds and subscribers, elevated the proprietors and conductors to a height from which they thought they could not be dis-

lodged. The Government had been beneficent and considerate: why not, then, try how far they might go, in *teaching the Government their duty*, and in censuring every act that did not meet with their approbation!

It was doubtless very gratifying to the proprietors to suppose, that a few, comparatively speaking, obscure individuals, had the power not only of giving a tone to society, but of dictating to and controlling their rulers; and there was something very profitable also in administering to the complaints and passions of the disaffected and discontented. The first recorded offence was an attack on the Madras Government, and a communication was made complaining of the circumstance, of which the annexed is a copy.

"To Mr. Buckingham, Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

"*Judicial Department.*

"Sir,—The attention of Government having been drawn to certain paragraphs published in the Calcutta Journal of Wednesday, the 26th ult., I am directed by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council to communicate to you the following remarks regarding them.

"The Governor-General in Council observes, that this publication is a wanton attack upon the Governor of the Presidency of Fort. St. George, in which his continuance in office is represented as a public calamity, and his conduct in administration asserted to be governed by despotic principles, and influenced by unworthy motives.

"The Governor-General in Council refrains from enlarging upon the injurious effect which publications of such a nature are

calculated to produce in the due administration of the affairs of this country. It is sufficient to inform you, that he considers the paragraphs above quoted to be highly offensive and objectionable in themselves, and to amount to a violation of the obvious spirit of the instructions communicated to the Editors of newspapers, at the period when this Government was pleased to permit the publication of newspapers without subjecting them to the previous revisions of the officers of Government.

" The Governor-General in Council regrets to observe, that this is not the only instance in which the Calcutta Journal has contained publications at variance with the spirit of the instructions above referred to. On the present occasion, the Governor-General in Council does not propose to exercise the powers vested in him by law; but I am directed to acquaint you, that by any repetition of a similar offence, you will be considered to have forfeited all claim to the countenance and protection of this Government, and will subject yourself to be proceeded against under the 36th section of the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155.

" I am, &c.

" W. B. BAYLEY, *Chief Sec. to Gov.*

" *Council Chamber, June* 18, 1819."

It is to be recollected, that Mr. Lambton and Mr. Buckingham himself have said, that *no warning* was ever given: the above is dated in 1819, and between that period and the total suppression of the Calcutta Journal, in 1823, I will submit half a dozen distinct and formal warnings. Mr. Lambton says, that the address from Madras was signed by a great number of respectable persons (vide the first extract); but the inference to be drawn is *not* that the address was about the free

press: that was a topic that formed a very inconsiderable portion of it. The address was on the termination of the war, and the services of the Marquis of Hastings; and, as a matter of course, the act relating to the removal of the restrictions was alluded to.

Mr. Lambton observes that

"It was no slight argument in favour of Mr. Buckingham, that, during the whole period of his residence in Calcutta, he had never been convicted of publishing either a private or a public libel."

The first part of this passage is satisfactorily answered by a reference to a letter written by Mr. Buckingham, and dated in 1819, which will be found a few pages hence; and, in regard to the following paragraph, if the Marquis of Hastings did not put his threats of deportation into execution, it was not for want of cause, but for a very different reason. With what grace, indeed, could that high-minded nobleman transport the person to whom he had originally given the unrestricted liberty of writing and speaking? Had the Marquis put his repeated threats into force, it would have been the severest censure of his own act that possibly could be: with him originated the freedom, and it would have been strange *in him* to visit with punishment a person from whom he had removed the restraint. Much misrepresentation exists on this particular point, and it has produced a most pernicious effect on Mr. Adam's

public character.* But I maintain, that if Mr. Adam appears more amiable and consistent in the discharge of any one of his public duties than another, it is in this very case. As a member of council, his objections to the removal of the restrictions were well known; his name was affixed to all the public ordinances and letters that had passed on the subject at Calcutta; and he had expressed his determination, on another offence occurring, to put in force the power with which he would be invested. What could be more honourable than the warning he had given, and that firmness of conduct which directed him to fulfil his promise? A reference to a passage in Mr. Hume's speech will confirm this.

"It could be proved before a Committee of that House, that Mr. Adam had declared, if ever he had the power, he would send Mr. Buckingham out of India."

Mr. Adam had the weight of a mighty empire on his shoulders, and a tremendous responsibility it was. Was it, then, to be endured, that an individual was to "laugh him to scorn," and pursue a

* The reader must not here accuse me of partiality, for I do not deserve the charge. I have received favours from the Marquis of Hastings, and so has a younger brother of mine, and I have therefore cause both to esteem and admire him. Of Mr. Adam the thing is very different. I once, in the course of my official duties, did ask a favour of him, but he not only did not grant it, but positively did not answer my application.

system of obnoxious conduct towards the government?

It must not be supposed that even Mr. Adam, although his sentiments were publicly declared and recorded, acted with tyranny or even harshness; he likewise tried mild admonition, and more than once pointed out the danger attending the course that Mr. B. was pursuing; these measures were, however, nugatory, and it at length became a trial of strength who were to be the rulers, the constituted authorities or the factious Europeans. Had not Mr. Adam, on an occasion requiring the strong arm of power, exerted the authority with which he was entrusted, it would have been said "that he was timid," and that "when in council his boast about acting was mere vanity;" for that "when in power he had shown the same forbearance that the Marquis had," although he had not the same reasons; that, in short, he wanted the nerve to act up to his professions, and that a man of his meek and kind-hearted feelings would not encounter popular clamour, or risk his reputation on the issue. Happily for India, Mr. Adam was not to be cajoled or frightened, and he manfully and honourably did that which he had previously determined upon; his was no empty boast; but, throughout the whole, his clemency and firmness were alike conspicuous, and the other members of council acted with the same spirit and judgment.

Mr. Lambton observes, that "Sir Francis Mac-

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naghton declared the criminal information against Mr. B. to be cruel, oppressive, and illegal." In making this assertion, it would have been as well had Mr. Lambton recollected that the other two judges thought very differently; and that subsequent events have changed the judicial opinions of Sir Francis the very extracts I have given will clearly prove.

A little farther on, Mr. Lambton says, "Mr. Adam, by an arbitrary abuse of his temporary authority, did what the Marquis of Hastings, in the plenitude of his power, never attempted." The Marquis had repeatedly threatened to do it: why he did not, perhaps Mr. Lambton can explain. With regard to Mr. Adam, there was no "*arbitrary abuse*;" what he did was not only strictly legal, but justifiable; he had declared he would do it, and when the time came he met the danger with a promptitude and decision that quite surprised those who had so long offended with impunity, and who had built their hope of escape in his pacific character.

In the same breath it is observed, that the offence which incurred the penalty of expatriation was, that "he had commented upon the appointment of Dr. Bryce, a Presbyterian clergyman, to a civil appointment." The changes have been rung upon this till we are quite tired of hearing it, particularly as the charge is invalid. This was but one of a series of offences, and would not have in-

curred the punishment awarded, was it not well known that the Government, and not the clergyman, was the object aimed at. The appointment of Dr. Bryce was objectionable in many points of view, but with that I have nothing to do.

Mr. Lambton's speech is very long; and, in analyzing it, much trouble is incurred; for it abounds with fallacious reasoning, and affairs having been misrepresented to him, we find, as might be expected, many errors.

I am as fond of consistency in public men as I am of brevity in public speakers. I will here give a proof of both. Mr. Lambton has quoted the judge's observation of the criminal information being "*cruel*, oppressive, and illegal." I will, in answer to Mr. Lambton's assertion, about the "heavy pecuniary loss,"* give the very words uttered by the very same judge, on the very same subject.

"As to the property of those who might have speculated upon profits to be derived from an abuse of the Government, it stood

* As late as September 1823, the Government were still anxious to preserve the property vested in the Calcutta Journal. The following passage occurs: "Notwithstanding the just cause of displeasure afforded on this occasion, the Governor General in Council is *still unwilling*, from considerations *connected with the interest* of those who share in the property, to have recourse to so extreme a measure (recall of the license) while it can be *avoided*." This was one of the last warnings, and Mr. Adam at this period was *not* Governor General.

upon a very different footing. The Government is no guarantee to such an adventure. It may truly say—

'Non hæc in fœdera veni.'

The Government is free to act as it may think proper; but he hoped, if there was any body concerned in such a fund, that he would not be suffered to benefit by his speculation. If, like other funds, it was to rise as the state in hostility was reduced, and to advance upon every defeat of the enemy, the Government being that enemy, he trusted it would not be long before we saw an end of such a stock, and of such a stock-jobbing."

I cannot do better than follow Mr. Lambton's example, and have therefore given the explanation from an independent and able judge; it is far better than any thing I could say, and no one can deny its truth.

We are now mowing our way down one of the heavy columns of the leading journal of Europe. Mr. Lambton goes next to the library formed at Calcutta, a valuable library containing books of a higher character than those usually existing in other collections in India. Of the *valuable* books, and the reading room, and of the intended subscribers, I have heard a good deal; but not being certain but that spleen or envy may have prejudiced my informants, rather than state that which may possibly be inaccurate, I forbear saying any thing on the subject.

Mr. Lambton remarks, "The Government seemed determined to suppress *every hope* which he or his friends might indulge." As before ob-

served, I do not know the particulars, but perhaps Mr. Lambton will have the goodness to inform me what "*every hope*" consisted in. . I have a shrewd guess, and which I shall be so unkind as to keep to myself.

We have now to wade through a long rigmarole detail of habeas corpus, French Governors, Supreme Court, Chief Secretary, Bencoolen, and the deuce knows what—of persons and places jumbled together in admirable confusion. We have likewise a new performer on the stage, who, unluckily for himself, followed the footsteps of his principal, and met with the same fate; but Mr. Lambton is wrong in repeating (from Mr. Buckingham)

"That the persons remaining in charge of his property, after Mr. Arnot's removal, proceeded with the utmost *caution* in the management of the paper, and for some time gave no further known cause of dissatisfaction to the Government, *until the month of November last*, on the sixth day of which the editor, Mr. Sandys, received an order from the Chief Secretary, commanding the immediate and total suppression of the Calcutta Journal, and forbidding its further publication; thus completing the ruin of Mr. Buckingham, and finally crushing at *one blow* those prospects which it had apparently so long been the object of the Indian Government progressively to destroy."

It will be clear to every unprejudiced person that this was not the case, and the annexed documents will confirm my assertion; and it will be most satisfactorily seen that Mr. Sandys had two distinct warnings before the month of November.

"No. 1.—To Mr. J. F. Sandys, Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

"Sir,—I am directed by the Honourable the Governor General in Council to desire that you will refrain from inserting in the Calcutta Journal any further correspondence or remarks connected with the depending trial of the persons charged with the murder of the late Mr. Henry Imlach, or with the conduct of the magistrate or other public officers in the district of Kishenagur.

"Many of the observations which have been published on those subjects are in the highest degree objectionable, either as imputing to the public officers a criminal neglect of their duty, or as tending to obstruct the due course of justice, by exciting a prejudice against individuals now under trial, and whose guilt or innocence remains to be proved.

"A communication to the same effect will be made to the editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

"I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

"W. B. Bayley, Chief Secretary to Government.

"Council Chamber, 19th June 1823."

"No. 2.—To John Palmer and George Ballard, Esquires.

"Gentlemen,—The Governor General in Council has observed, with concern and disapprobation, several late indications (as enumerated in the note below*) of a disposition, on the part of the editor of the Calcutta Journal, to infringe the spirit of the regulations of Government regarding the press, and to revive discussions and animosities which it was his desire finally to extinguish. I am accordingly instructed by Government to call your attention to this circumstance, and to intimate to you the expect-

* "Articles objected to:—July 5, 'Prospective Arrangements,' and advertisement referred to in it. The advertisement has been repeated several times since.—7th, 'Intelligence regarding Nawab Moatumud Dowla.'—11th, 'Affairs of Oudh.'—14th, 'Letter, signed Paul Puzzle Brain.'—16th, 'Colonial Policy.'—17th, 'The Tories' Gridiron.'—18th, 'Intelligence regarding Oudh.'"

ation of the Governor General in Council that you will require from the editors and conductors of that paper the observance of such a line of conduct as may relieve Government from the necessity, which otherwise must arise, of taking measures which will be seriously detrimental to the interests of the proprietors.

"I am further desired to call upon you to state to me, for the information of Government, the names of any British subjects who may be now employed on the establishment of the Calcutta Journal.

"I am, Gentlemen, your obedient humble servant,

"W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Secretary to Government.

"Council Chamber, 18th July 1823."

"No. 3.—To Messrs. John Francis Sandys, John Palmer, George Ballard, and Peter Stone D'Rozario.

"GENTLEMEN,—You were apprized, by my official letters of the 18th of July and 3d of September last, of the sentiments entertained by the Governor General in Council, in regard to the *repeated* violation, on the part of the conductors of the Calcutta Journal, of the rules established by Government for the regulation of the periodical press.

"The editor of the Calcutta Journal, notwithstanding those communications, has since, by the republication in successive numbers of that newspaper, of numerous extracts from a pamphlet published in England, revived the discussion of topics which had before been officially prohibited; and has maintained and enforced opinions and principles which, as applicable to the state of this country, the Governor General in Council had repeatedly discouraged and reprobated; the extracts themselves, so published, containing numerous passages which are in direct violation of the rules prescribed by Government under date the 5th of April last.

"The Right Honourable the Governor General in Council has, in consequence, this day been pleased to resolve, that the license granted by Government on the 18th of April 1823, authorising and empowering John Francis Sandys and Peter Stone D'Rozario, to print and publish in Calcutta a newspaper called the 'The Calcutta Journal of Politics and General Literature,' and supplement

thereto, issued on Sundays, entitled and called 'New Weekly Register and General Advertiser for the stations of the interior, with heads of the latest intelligence, published as a supplement to the country edition of the Calcutta Journal,' shall be revoked and recalled; and you are hereby apprized, and respectively required to take notice, that the said license is resumed, revoked, and recalled accordingly.

"I am, Gentlemen, your obedient humble servant,

"W. B. Bayley, Chief Secretary to Government.

"Council Chamber, Nov. 6, 1823."

A statesman like Mr. Lambton, to whom *accuracy* in dates and facts is of such vital importance, will unquestionably, I should think, be well pleased to find himself set right in these particulars.

It was attempted at this stage of the business to make the Government believe that the new editor was an Indo-Briton, who could not be removed from the soil, and that the European editor (who was unlicensed, a Mr. Arnot,) was only an assistant; this was a curious manœuvre, and how very incredulous it was in the Supreme Government not to believe it! However dull they might be in other matters, they had penetration enough to see through this flimsy pretext. I am sorry to see Mr. Lambton so easily deceived. He must certainly have heard of such a thing, in a neutral vessel, as a nominal sailing captain, while the real captain and owner passed in the same vessel for a passenger: he may probably recollect the case of a foreign vessel during the early part of the late war, the captain of which is now a *British* admiral, but for their purpose they had substituted a heavy-

breeched Dutchman; but it would not answer, and the ship was seized and condemned. It was a similar thing in India, and the Government wisely put an end to the business ere it arrived at that height which would alike have despised any checks imposed by the local government, or the interference of the mother country. To this end things were hastening; but whether such was the direct intentions of persons in India can only be left to conjecture; men may or may not be honest, and our own time affords many instances of states being overturned, kings made, and kings dethroned, with great facility, even in Europe.

In India, matters of this kind are of far easier accomplishment, and the means of restoring affairs to their former state far more difficult. In fact, the distance of our Asiatic dominions, the state of society in that country, the physical greatness of the millions whom we govern, and the comparative insignificance, in numerical strength, of their masters, would render the work of civil war and revolution a task of little difficulty. I do not mean to infer that such were the designs of any persons; but it is as well, when the safety of the state is concerned, to be on the secure side of the question; and we know mankind is ambitious and mercenary, impatient of control, and ever seeking to advance themselves, and subvert those institutes and laws necessary for the maintenance of a government over a conquered country, and

by which alone its affairs can be managed, and the turbulent population kept in subjection. No one more than myself can regret the great sacrifice of property that took place by the suppression of the Calcutta Journal; but what other course, I would wish to ask, could the executive pursue? Persuasion had been tried, intimations had been given, repeated warnings had been issued, and threats held out day after day, and month after month; these were alike disregarded and scoffed at, and the authority of the state was defied. All this while, the administration, from their forbearance, were certainly lessening themselves in the eyes of the natives, who were taught, and beginning to think, that they had a right to complain of and vilify their rulers. It must be evident, had the European faction succeeded in their wish for an uncontrolled liberty of writing and publishing, that the natives would not only have expected, but insisted upon, the same liberty; and can it be doubted, that needy and designing adventurers would daily have arrived, to propagate obnoxious doctrines and sedition—to excite and inflame their minds?

It was not the solitary case of Mr. B. the great and able agitator of the free-press question, that was particularly concerned; there were hundreds of other Europeans and natives, who though in point of talents, knowledge, and industry, could bear no comparison with the "master spirit," that

only waited for his success to have opened with their hundred mouths, and vomited forth false, inflammatory, and pernicious statements, which the natives would have transcribed into the four native newspapers, and which would have been circulated over the whole of Hindostan with celerity and ease. Under such circumstances, what course was left to the Government? temporizing would not do: it was alike futile and dangerous; remonstrance was derided; nothing but the strong arm of power could check the evil; and I declare to God, was Mr. Adam my bitterest enemy, I would applaud the measures; and had they been inflicted on my father or son, I most solemnly assert, I should have approved of his proceedings; in fact, he had no course left him but coercion. With the prosperity and safety of the state committed to his charge, and surrounded by a hostile faction, and millions of restless and aspiring natives, in such a situation to talk of kind feelings, or of beneficent and tender proceedings, would argue great imbecility. Mr. Adam did his duty; that duty was forced upon him, and he was imperiously compelled to put it in execution. How it must have tried the patience and harrowed the amiable mind of the Marquis of Hastings when himself compelled to write *with his own hand* the subjoined letters. I say, how it must have irritated that excellent nobleman, to find that he was reduced to the necessity of rescinding, as it were, and censuring his own mea-

sures. This will be a warning to future Governors, how they grant immunities or indulgences to those under their control. How strongly it verifies the observation of Shakspeare—

"Our virtues often serve us as our greatest enemies."

The virtuous object that Lord Hastings had in view turned against himself, and the press to which he had given existence became his bitterest enemy.

"*General Department.*

"Sir,—The attention of the Governor-General in Council has been called to a discussion in the Calcutta Journal of the 31st ultimo, respecting the power of Government to forbid the further continuance within the British territories in India of any European not being a covenanted servant of the Honourable Company.

"With a suppression of facts most mischievous, as tending to betray others into penal error, you have put out of view the circumstance that the residence alluded to, if it be without a license, is criminal by the law of England; while, if the residence be sanctioned by license, it is upon the special recorded condition, not simply of obedience to what the local government may see cause to enjoin, but to the holding a conduct which that government shall deem to merit its countenance and protection; a breach of which condition forfeits the indulgence, and renders it liable to extinction.

"This provision, which the Legislature of your country has thought proper to enact, (53 Geo. III. cap. 155, sect. 36,) you have daringly endeavoured to discredit and nullify, by asserting that 'transmission for offences through the press is a power wholly unknown to the law;' that 'no regulation exists in the statute book for restraining the press in India;' and that 'the more the

monstrous doctrine of transmission is examined, the more it must excite the abhorrence of all just minds.'

"No comment is requisite on the gross disingenuousness of describing as a tyrannous authority, that power, the legality and justice of which you had acknowledged by your voluntary acceptance of a leave, granted on terms involving your express recognition to that effect. Neither is it necessary to particularize the many minor indecencies in the paper observed upon, since you have brought the matter to one decisive point.

"Whether the act of the British Legislature, or the opinion of an individual, shall be predominant, is now at issue. It is thence imperative on the duty of the local Government to put the subject at rest. The long-tried forbearance of the Governor-General will fully prove the extreme reluctance with which he adopts a measure of harshness; and even now his Excellency is pleased to give you the advantage of *one more* warning. You are now finally apprized, if you shall again venture to impeach the validity of the statute quoted, and the legitimacy of the power vested by it in the chief authority here, or shall treat with disregard any official injunction, past or future, from Government, whether communicated in terms of command or in the gentler language of intimation, your license will be immediately cancelled, and you will be ordered to depart forthwith from India.

"I am, Sir, &c. &c.

"C. LUSHINGTON,

"*Acting Chief Secretary to Government.*"

"*India, 5th Sept.* 1822."

It must be recollected that the last document was written by Lord Hastings, and it is *likely* the public will allow that this is a warning. Others saw the evil, and reprobated the course pursued, but it was Mr. Adam who crushed it, and for which he, and his coadjutors in Council, deserve

statues to be erected to their honour, for they saved India, and till this was done, the simple question was, "Did we wish to keep India, or did we wish to lose it?"

There is no occasion to make reference to the latter part of Mr. Lambton's speech, as the matter of it is fully answered by the warnings conveyed to Mr. Buckingham's deputies given in a former part.

That the proprietors of the journal met with a severe and heavy loss, no one will or can deny; but who is to be blamed? They would wilfully pursue their course, regardless of consequences. Of these they were forewarned, but it had no effect; they would thrust their hand into the fire, and are astonished, and roar out, when they find themselves scorched. Who have they to thank for it? no one but themselves; they risked the penalty, and defied its effects, and cannot now be surprised, or justly complain of penalties that their own imprudence and temerity led them to encounter.

There is but one other observation in the reply of the Honourable Member for Durham that requires a distinct notice, and it corroborates more than ever the necessity of gentlemen being well acquainted with circumstances, and shows at the same time how imperfectly people at home judge of Indian events.

"Had the hon. chairman * forgotten that the mutinies at Vellore and Madras had taken place under an established censorship of the press in India; and that it was the universal opinion of the best informed and most experienced men, that if India had had a free press, those disturbances would most probably not have taken place?"

I never yet knew of one person that entertained the opinion here described by the Honourable Gentleman as being "universal," and as existing among the "best informed and most experienced men;" though I will agree with him, that if it were *universal*, there would be no distinction either with the wise, or unwise, with experienced or inexperienced. Much sagacity is not requisite in discovering that an *universal* opinion must extend to all; but the inference I draw, in common with all I ever heard discuss the subject, is, that had a free press been in existence at that time, the mutiny (as Mr. Lambton calls it) at Madras would not have been extinguished, but would have spread with frightful rapidity, and to an extent that no one can define; besides which, every open foe and latent enemy would have seized that momentous period to have assailed the British power in all quarters. Happily the censorship of the press existed, and the mischief could not spread far: indeed, so well aware was the Government of this, that private letters were stopped, and no one will deny but the Government were justified in so do-

* Mr. Astell.

ing. Let me ask those, if any there are, who do deny the right or propriety of the authorities doing this, how they would have acted had they been in power and placed in such critical times?—they will acknowledge, I imagine, that they would have done the same. For the sake of argument, let us suppose that a portion of the British army (our own countrymen) were in a state of insubordination; is it to be thought for a moment that our Government would tolerate among them writings of an improper nature, or allow factious persons to administer poison to their minds already inflamed to a degree that threatened the safety of the State? Would it not, in perilous times like these, be something like madness to allow either radical speakers or writers to get among them? If this would be the case, what would it be in India, where the military are high-minded and fanatical, and the mass of the people inflammable, and living under the rule of foreigners?

"The longer we live the more we learn;" and perhaps I ought not to regret my unfortunate voyage to England, as by it I learn that my knowledge of India, though derived from considerable experience in that country, is all wrong, prejudiced, or superficial, and that I can only obtain correct information from speeches delivered in St. Stephen's, or at the India House. The observation of Virgil is reversed in modern times,—

"Experto crede."

I was doing duty (as will be seen hereafter) at that very period with the Madras army, and am free to confess it never struck me that a free press would have prevented or checked the unhappy business at Madras.

It is not far to travel to Vellore, the "Key to the Carnatic," where the other mutiny, according to the foregoing extract, took place. I have been in the room where the bloody carnage of European officers by their own siphauees took place. I always thought till now, from information derived from History and from the natives, that the massacre took place in consequence of a King's officer, inexperienced with regard to the country, languages, and people, having introduced an article of dress and interfered with prejudices of the Siphauees. That caused that unfortunate affair; and the same thing will occur, if we ever attempt to disturb the religious notions, or inveterate customs of the Hindoos.

Zealots and fanatics ought always to bear in mind that they risk their own safety, whenever by intemperate zeal they wish to change the opinions or revise the immemorial customs of the Hindoos; but how the massacre at Vellore would have been prevented by a free press I am at a loss to conceive, although I have no difficulty in finding out that, had it existed, by *its means* the most disastrous consequences would have ensued, particularly as Tippoo's sons, who were daring and

intriguing, had many friends at a *distance* only waiting the word and time to rise in one general revolt. I do not know how the ingenuity of man could devise a fitter instrument to aid their machinations, and disseminate treason to the remotest parts of India, than by a free press; and as I believe that 99 men out of 100 will agree with me, and acknowledge the purity of my intentions in unmasking the subject, I shall here take leave respectfully of Mr. Lambton, with a word of advice. Let him legislate for England; he doubtless understands her laws and domestic policy, and few of the members of the honourable House are more deservedly respected; but I would conjure him to leave India alone: of that country he is ignorant; and, what is still worse, he has in most particulars allowed himself to be deceived. As long as interested individuals made money, they cared not if India were plunged into all the horrors of revolution, or if she were sunk to the bottom of the sea, provided their property escaped the general wreck. As to the cant about patriotism, philanthropy, and moral improvement of mankind, it is downright mockery to talk about it; self-interest, ambition, and personal aggrandizements, are the only stimulants that have urged most persons on in the late business. I have nothing to gain by opposing the measure, but I will not silently see my generous countrymen led astray by faction, or deceived by fanatics; nor will I see India threatened

with danger, and ultimate ruin, without raising my feeble voice in her defence. I have thought it my duty to do it elsewhere, * and will do it with a conscious integrity and undeviating zeal to the latest hour of my existence.

* *Vide* "Wonders of Elora,"—Residence at Aurungabad.

† At this part of my late publication, I devoted 63 pages to the discussion of the attempt at converting the Hindoos. Having there so fully, and I believe, honestly, expressed my sentiments, I have only now to give an extract from the Edinburgh Review, so late as July, 1824. "Any interference of authority for the conversion of the natives might be construed into an attack on their faith, and jealousies of this sort, once excited, might shake our empire to its very foundation. It is clear that, in the present circumstances of our Indian empire, any display of missionary zeal by its rulers would be highly dangerous."

CHAPTER X.

"Consult the genius of the place in all."

MR. HUME, M. P.

Mr. Hume next falls under our notice; and it is not more from his amiable private character, than for his great and unremitting services in the senate, that I am induced to speak of his sentiments (as I have done of Mr. Lambton's) with deference. The first observation that bears immediately upon the general subject of the free press is as follows:—"Why should not the same principles by which Englishmen are governed, when they proceeded to other colonies, be extended to India?" I must call in to my aid an observation of Mr. Canning during the same debate. "To the discussion of that subject, come when it would, the greatest latitude he thought ought to be given; but at the same time it was a subject which would require to be considered with all the modifications which belonged to a state of society not only *different* from that of *England*, but *different from almost every other society in the world.*"

Mr. Hume, in reconsidering the above observation, will admit, that a vast continent, inhabited

by an immense military population, who are restless and fanatical, is widely different from an island colony where the conquered people have not *arms in their hands*, but are kept in awe by British soldiers. In these colonies the distance is not great from the parent state, and the neighbouring islands are a check upon popular tumult; in fact, in many of them, with the exception of a few wretched and debased slaves, the rulers and the people are one and the same body, professing the same religion, customs, and manners; but even did they throw off the state of subjection in which they are placed, their physical strength and political importance are so trifling, that little exertion would be required to recover possession of any of our foreign colonies; but the restoration of our lost power would be a *little* more difficult in going from the Indus to the Burrampooter, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya Mountains; very different indeed would be the task, to a hop, step, and a jump over a small insulated colony.

Ferdinand the Seventh is rather puzzled in his endeavours to recover the continent of South America: not so would it have been, were it a small colony. We must not mind being a little diffuse, but look the danger boldly in the face, and in discussing the question take in all its bearings; it will not do merely to take a side glance, and deal in hopes and probabilities of the future. On the subject of other colonies, look at the mischiefs

produced in the West Indies, by repeated discussions and party bickerings in the House of Commons in all that has occurred there, and is now silently progressing, had its origin at home, and the same thing will be caused by the repeated and endless discussions at the India House, on the very subject I am treating upon. It is sure, by means of the public press, to find its way to India; and persons well knowing that the firmness and judgment of the Foreign Administration will not allow of these doctrines being published there, it in some measure answers the purpose of certain individuals, whose acknowledged objects are to persevere in declamatory and vituperative attacks on the Asiatic government, by which means they will inevitably disturb the tranquillity of that now prosperous and beautiful country. For my part, I wonder, and cannot help regretting, that a stop is not put to the silly and vexatious debates that take place at the India House, answering no possible purpose * but that of wasting time and hampering the duties of the executive.

Had I any power or influence with either his Majesty's Government, or the Board of Control, by way of checking this growing evil, I would propose that no special Court should be called, unless the requisition was signed by thirty Proprietors or more. Faction and malignity by this

* *Vide* Sun Newspaper in Appendix.

salutary bye-law would meet with their due contempt; for thirty persons would not, unless the subject was of real importance, lend themselves to be made tools of. Mr. S. Dixon and Mr. Twining have each made just and apposite observations on this very subject. Mr. D. observed, that

"He might, if he pleased, enlarge on the subject; but, when gentlemen had a few strong points, he thought it was as well to state them at once, instead of taking up a great deal of the time of the Court by observations which tended to divert the attention from those circumstances on which their decision must be ultimately founded."

He also, in a subsequent debate, censured

"The custom which prevailed of making speeches which lasted for two or three hours, when the argument might be disposed of by common sense in a quarter of an hour, and then proceeded to observe, that it was a very great fallacy to draw an analogy between the situation of a free press in India and one in this country."

Mr. Twining, on another occasion, expresses himself somewhat similarly, and equally to the purpose; both these gentlemen are well known as being intelligent; and their arguments on Indian affairs are generally such as show, that they do not adopt hasty and crude opinions, but weigh well the nature of the question before they give utterance to their sentiments.

These discussions ought not to take place; they are often uncalled for, and, in most cases, quite

unnecessary, and their dissemination will be mischievous in India. We have Governors appointed, men of integrity and ability; if they do wrong, the Ministers, the Board of Control, and the Directors, will assuredly take it up. Interest as well as necessity will alike urge them to inquiry, and to inflict punishment on those who do wrong; but, for heaven's sake, let a stop be put to the interested clamours of disappointed men, who, to serve their own ends, mis-state every public act, and malign every man in power.

It is with great regret that I even find two or three officers, who have all their lives "eaten the salt," come home with a fortune, and lend themselves to party; while in India they were as tractable and quiet as lambs, neither possessing talents or services to bring them into notice; but as soon as they grow independent, they turn tail on their former benefactors and superiors.

"Mus in pice," they vainly imagine they become public men, without recollecting that they do not possess any of the necessary qualifications to support the character. This is certainly a mark of a bad taste, and shows great ingratitude and imprudence. They ought to recollect, that they were nobody in India; and that it is not by stringing together half a dozen misplaced and unintelligible sentences, that they can escape from their former nothingness, and become somebody.

A very silly person, whom I knew a short time

ago, actually bought three newspapers, that he might have the inexpressible satisfaction of seeing his name appended to a requisition. The Secretary to the India House having neglected to insert the requisition in due time, the person alluded to had to purchase three papers before he had the pleasure of getting the one he wanted; this very person fancied himself a public man, and actually made a long journey for the purpose of speaking; but, on arriving at the House, his heart sunk within him, he uttered not a word, and thereby saved his credit; for, had he brayed, the ass would have been discovered. It is hard to "break a butterfly on a wheel;" but as a few embryo speakers are in training for some promised field-days, in which the usual pernicious course of speechifying is to be pursued, a hint in time may be of service to these "aspirants" after fame. A word of advice from one of the ancients will not probably be thrown away. "While thou wert silent thou wert somebody, but when thou openest thy mouth, there is not a boy that grindeth ochre, but what laugheth at thee!"

It were, in fact, "a consummation devoutly to be wished," that those gentlemen who derive so much gratification from hearing themselves talk, and from seeing their speeches afterwards in print, would, instead of occupying the valuable time of the Court in attending to their lengthy harangues, decked out in all that common-place fustian re-

specting the liberty of the press, and the rights of free discussion, find out some other school of oratory, and enter on some other topic of debate, where their eloquence might be at least as harmless as their arguments at the India House are ill-timed and futile; and I sincerely hope that the plain hints which, as an old soldier, I here throw out for their future guidance, will be received as the honest advice of one who has seen too much of the false glitter that surrounds popular speakers to be dazzled by it.

The first paragraph which I select from Mr. Hume's speech at the India House is almost at the commencement. The speech is replete with sound doctrine, as regards a *free* state, and breathes noble sentiments throughout; but it is not applicable to India, or the state of society there; and this is the misfortune which Mr. Hume and other gentlemen are constantly falling into. They ought to discriminate between the state of society in that country and in England,—a land of freedom, possessing a free constitution, with chartered rights; where, by its admirable form of government, one part of the Legislature acts as a check upon the other; and they ought also to bear in mind, that which probably best secures us from foreign domination, our insular situation. With British India how very dissimilar is the state of things! There, the people have for centuries lived under a foreign yoke, either Mahomedan or British; and

be our rule as mild as it may, we are still conquerors and intruders, and our subjects are a subjugated people, consisting of an enormous population, superstitious and restless, haughty and fierce. Surely these are not the persons to direct, or fit to judge of the acts of their masters; nor can it be admitted that the next class, viz. the Company's servants, are, in their dependent state, the persons who are to control or disapprove of the conduct of their own Government; nor will the task be allotted to the free settler or deserter: for, shackled as they are by various legal restraints, they have imbibed angry sentiments against the Government. At home, our laws and institutes have stood the test of centuries; and experience proves they are admirably adapted to the character of the people and to the constitution of the country; but in respect to India, the case is altogether different; in fact, the two countries are as distinct in character as day and night. Our laws and customs, which centuries have practically confirmed, would, if extended to India, be a curse; nay, even an attempt to try the experiment must be fraught with danger; but to the extract from Mr. Hume's speech, on which the foregoing observations must serve as a comment.

"As a public body, having 70 or 80,000,000 of the natives of India placed under their care, *they were bound*, by the *most sacred obligation*, to see that *their interests* were *properly attended* to. They had, in Great Britain, a powerful check on the exercise of

authority, a check which he hoped they would ever continue to revere, he meant the PRESS."

Mr. H. himself replies to the part marked with Italics, for a little further on the Honourable Gentleman says: "In India there were Bible societies, literary societies, and public institutions to a very great extent. They had education societies, school-book societies, orphan societies; in short, all the means of diffusing information."

I think this pretty evidently proves that the moral condition of the people and "their interests" are properly attended to. Do this, and do more *if possible* for them; but let not us, a handful of strangers, give them the power of publishing what they please; or, what is perhaps worse, of allowing factious and designing persons to do it for them. Any thing but a free press; or, in other words, the power of doing mischief.

Nothing can reflect greater honour on the Indian Governments, or be a source of prouder satisfaction to this country, than the great number of colleges, charities, institutions, and asylums for the ignorant, the distressed, and the needy, whether natives or Europeans, that India has to boast of. In England, this circumstance is so imperfectly known, that the great mass of the people have no idea that any thing of the kind exists; for they are taught to think that our Eastern Governors are nothing but tyrants, sensualists, and knaves, regardless of every thing but dominion

and the acquirement of wealth. So far is this from being the truth, that there is scarcely a public society or institution, that the Government do not munificently assist, and always do their utmost to encourage. In India, the British character shines with double splendour; the persons there have greater means, and less cares and troubles to hamper their exertions; and their object is, the moral improvement of the people, and benefiting their condition.*

At this part of our subject, a sentence of Mr. H., although not in proper order of rotation, is an admirable illustration of the preceding remarks. "It was *strange* that amongst those who asked the press to be *manacled*, and who thus prevented the diffusion of the Christian religion, there were gentlemen who had acted *in Calcutta* as presidents and members of different Bible and religious societies." I can perceive nothing *strange* at all in this; they wish well to the establishment of the Christian faith; nay, I am personally acquainted with one or two who almost enthusiastically do so; but this enthusiasm is sobered by a knowledge of the dangers attendant upon licentious writings, and the circulation of political doctrines. No ar-

* This is undeniable, and were it not far exceeding the limits I have prescribed myself, I might give a history of the charities, endowments, and institutions, which would astonish the people in this country, notwithstanding they are the most charitable and liberal people in the world.

gument can be more in favour of what I assert than this declaration, viz., that some of the most pious and liberal-minded advocates of the Christian religion hesitate not to declare, that a free press is dangerous.

I, however, must object to the inference drawn by Mr. H. " The press being manacled thus prevented the diffusion of the Christian faith." Nothing of the kind; all that the Government require is, that persons should abstain from political discussions, anonymous writings, and mis-statements levelled at the public officers, or at the acts of the administration.

The Honourable Member observes, at an early part of his speech, " He would ask whether such a privilege (that of sitting behind the bar at the India House) would be conceded to his learned friend near him, (Mr. Randle Jackson,) who had spent so much of his *valuable life* in *that Court.*"

This tribute to Mr. Jackson's great merit and independent sentiments, I fully accord with; and in so doing I have only to remark, that if one part of his public life was more valuable than another, it was when, by his luminous, powerful, and irrefutable speech,* he pointed out the dangers of a free press; the absurdities of what some

* " He *entirely* concurred with the Court of Directors in approving of the conduct of Mr. Adam; and he was of opinion, that if the executive body had not expressed their approbation as they had done, they would have compromised their duty."

gentlemen had urged, and the fallacies and errors into which many excellent persons had fallen in their sentiments on the subject. A little further on Mr. H. remarks: "Many of the mistakes which arose with respect to India were occasioned by *our ignorance of the* REAL situation in which India was placed."

Here again I have the satisfaction of agreeing with the Honourable Member for Aberdeen; but is it not fair to suppose, that the same *ignorance* of the "*real situation*" may apply to those who advocate a free press as to those who object to it? Doubtless both sides may be in the dark; but in making this conjecture, I cannot help remarking, that many people, fancying that India is politically and morally the same as Great Britain, and entitled to the same privileges, have in consequence become red-hot patriots. I find, however, I cannot acquiesce as far as I expected in the extract I have quoted; for we cannot suppose that either Sir John Malcolm, or Sir Charles Forbes, who was, like Sir John, in India upwards of 34 years, is ignorant of its "real situation;" and besides these gentlemen, there are several Anglo-Indians in the East India Direction, who must have a practical knowledge of our Eastern dominions, to say nothing of the very many persons who have been and are in authority abroad, who *cannot* be ignorant on the subject; "last and least" myself.

If Mr. Hume's speech is long, it is candid and conscientious, and does him great honour, when taken in a broad and general sense; but truth obliges me to confess, that scarcely a sentence of it will hold good as applicable to India. But, to proceed: Mr. H. says, "The Company ought to take care of their interests in India; and their interests as Englishmen were, not to suffer their power in that country to be abused." The first sentence answers itself, and the experience of nearly two centuries confirms it; and the only way for the Company now to protect their interests is, to prevent strangers from doing injury, and not to allow them to excite the natives to do it. With respect to the last sentence, I am at a loss to discover any abuse of power abroad; what has been lately done in Calcutta was strictly legal, and the parties were warned repeatedly of the risk they ran; *they* were treated with far more considerateness, nay, tenderness, than had they been servants of the state; men who had *long* servitude, rank, and high character to recommend them.

Instead of an abuse of power, the government are censurable for the temporizing spirit they manifested, and the forbearance they showed for a considerable period of time.

Mr. Hume puts a question, which I have great pleasure in replying to. "Had he not a right to ask of his heart, how far he had aided the *growth* of *evil* by protecting the *overt* acts of *bad* governors?"

I know of no evil growing in our Asiatic settlements; nor am I aware of a bad governor: perhaps Mr. H. is acquainted with both; if so, bring the subject and the parties before the great tribunal of the kingdom, the House of Commons; but I do protest against these desultory, and to me inexplicable questions. Where is the "overt act of a bad governor," or where "grows the evil?" Mr. H. is the last man in the world to countenance evil, or evil rulers; and he is the very man to bring the first to light, and to consign to punishment the latter; but wherefore these general, dogged, and unmeaning queries?

Mr. H., a little further on, mentions, that

"By the 53d of the late King, it was declared to be 'the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement.'"

In our oriental territories, it will be found that the intentions of the British legislature are fully attended to. Indeed Mr. H. admits it in a preceding part of his speech, which I have given, and where he specifically alludes to the great number of schools, &c. &c.

The next observation deserving of notice is the following: "Was it not their first and most important duty, they being sovereigns over a great empire, to establish a good government there?"

The inference to be drawn from this passage is, that the government abroad is defective and vicious; this I must deny, and challenge proof. I do not believe any form of government better adapted to the people could be formed; or that one more humane, just and honest could be substituted. I occasionally hear a good deal about misrule, oppression, injustice, &c.; but it is all general remark, mere declamation. I want something tangible and specific brought forward; and which I must have, ere I presume to condemn our rule in India, which has so long stood the shock of time, producing happiness to our native subjects, and benefit to Great Britain.

It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Hume, (probably one of the most useful public men in the kingdom,) should constantly confound India and Great Britain; they are as opposite in character, as they are in the productions of nature, or in the colour of the inhabitants. Mr. H. says, "Fortunately, however, the press existed (*in England*) that was the powerful *check and preventive of abuse.* What situation, he asked, would England be in, if the press were not in existence?" In this exclamation the speaker forgets, that the home administration are, as it were, *supreme*, and that the Indian governments are mere *servants*, who may be recalled at pleasure, and punished at the discretion of their superiors. In Great Britain, the press does incalculable good; it is the only

check upon bad men; but with regard to India, the Ministers, the Parliament, the Board of Control, the Directors, the Court of Proprietors, are the real and constitutional checks upon our foreign rulers; nor must we forget the press, which would quickly bring every evil man and misdeed before the public. Yet I have not seen a single paper, (always excepting the Globe and Traveller) which has censured Mr. Adam, or the Court of Directors; a convincing proof, were any wanting, of the hollowness of the cause. One word more, at this part, and we have done. In the extract, it is observed, "a *powerful check* and preventive of abuse." Here, let me ask, who is to discover "abuses?" Is it to be the natives, who are a conquered people? Is it to be the servants of the Company, whose duty it is to obey and honour the government? or is it to be the free-settlers and deserters, who must be dissatisfied with their political situation? I ask if any of these classes are to wield the "*powerful check*" and "*prevent abuse;*" or does their moral and social state fit them for the task; or do they bear in character or features the smallest analogy to the public of Great Britain?

To analyse the whole of the Honourable Member's long speech would be a Herculanean labour, which neither my health nor other pursuits will admit of. Indeed were I paid for the task, instead of losing by it (which I shall do by this publica-

tion), I would not undertake it. I, therefore, proceed some distance on, where I meet with the subjoined.

" It might perhaps be supposed, that the Hon. Bart.'s (Sir John Malcolm*) arguments would have very considerable force; but he had taken the trouble to *contrast one argument with another,* and he found them completely at *variance.* It was only necessary to contrast one half of the Hon. Bart.'s arguments with the other, and their effect was completely neutralized."

It was but the other day that a gentleman of fortune, education, and superior talents, was at my house, and casually took up the speech of Sir John Malcolm, and he observed, " That nothing could be more convincing than the arguments in that speech, and that it would have the effect of influencing him in his vote in the House of Commons;" but Mr. Hume says, he is dissatisfied with them, and by contrasting them they are neu-

* Sir John Malcolm, whose splendid services are so well known, and whom Mr. Canning so eloquently spoke of in the House of Commons, is *now* any thing but " what he ought to be." In the Oriental Herald for April, page 686, is the following tribute paid to the gallant general by Mr. Buckingham. " Sir John Malcolm is understood to be desirous of going out as governor of Bombay; and if so, *we* know of no man more *likely* to be *well received* there, or to fulfil his duties with more *satisfaction* to ALL PARTIES, both *abroad* and at HOME." Poor Sir John! how thou art " fallen among the mighty:" in three short months hast thou forfeited thy well-earned fame; the confidence of thy *friends,* and the esteem and admiration of thy countrymen. All this, Sir John, is for daring to speak your true sentiments!

tralized. I do wish, knowing how capable he is of the task, he would dissect and see how far he can refute them, as I, and many others, consider them incontrovertible. Sir John Malcolm, like myself, is a soldier, practically acquainted with India, and with the subject he speaks on; but there is this distinction between us: his services and talents are equally distinguished, and have been long tried as a statesman, as a diplomatist, as a general, and as a literary man; while I am only a plain, dull, plodding captain.

I think in our next extract we shall find Mr. H. has fallen into a mistake. "If it were proper to put down the liberty of the press in Calcutta, was it not equally proper to put it down at Madras and Bombay. Was there to be one rule at Bombay, another at Madras, and a third at Calcutta?"

I believe that the regulations regarding the liberty of the press are nearly alike at the three presidencies. If they are not so at Bombay, it is because no one has abused the indulgence; or assuredly a man possessing such firmness and judgment as the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone does, would speedily suppress any efforts of evil-disposed persons. Mr. Elphinstone, we know, speaks in praise of the conduct of Mr. Adam; and, to show that our numbers are not few, or disreputable in name, I here submit what that eminent statesman has said regarding the late Governor General.

"*Bombay, August* 14, 1823.

"Nothing can exceed the praise which every body in Bengal bestows on John Adam's administration, which is the more to his credit, as much of his employment has been of an unpopular nature; the restrictions on the press in particular: but the inconsistency of a free press, where nothing else is free, or intended to be free, is too obvious to escape you. It is our duty, and I am happy to say it is our wish too, to hasten on the time when the people of the country may take a share in their government. But at present nobody would take a part or an interest in political discussion but the Europeans, of whom more than nine-tenths compose the strength of the army."

The above is part of a letter written by Mr. E. to a relation of Mr. John Adam. So much for the opinion of the governor at Bombay. With regard to Madras, there are restrictions on the press; but whether in exact conformity to those at Calcutta, I cannot pretend to say; and I will on no account assert any thing of which I am ignorant.

The next sentence that falls under discussion is short. "He had traced as narrowly as he could all the proceedings in Mr. Buckingham's case, and endeavoured to ascertain what *motives* could have actuated Mr. Adam to take so strong a course as he had adopted."

"*Multum in parvo.*"—It was *forced* upon him. It ought to have been done before; and had not Mr. Adam done it, he ought to have been impeached at the bar of the House of Commons.

Our next extract is somewhat longer.

"He considered Mr. Buckingham as a most meritorious individual; as the champion of a free press; as one who employed

himself in the diffusion of knowledge, and in the detection of various errors which appeared in the Government of India. *(Hear!)* He would *not inquire* into *any* acts of Mr. Buckingham *before* these proceedings; he would confine his observation to that gentleman's intercourse with Mr. Adam, which formed an *isolated* case."

No one denies that Mr. B. in his private character, is a meritorious individual,—and, what is more, a highly gifted one; but as to being a champion of a free press in India, I envy him not the title. As to the diffusion of knowledge, it is an amiable employment; but men may sometimes diffuse other matter besides useful knowledge; and when they become champions, I fancy, to maintain that elevated and popular title, other matter is required of them than the tame pursuit of "diffusing knowledge."

As to the detection of "various errors," surely Mr. H. can hardly be serious in recommending to that task a stranger, an alien, one who, living under certain penalties, must view every act of the Government through a prejudiced vision; and, as a public writer, whose gains must depend upon pleasing others situated precisely like himself. We know in England, those who administer to the prejudices and passions of the "million" meet with treble the success of those who pursue a neutral course. Where, in all human nature, would Mr. H. find any needy man, whose sole aim should be the "diffusion of knowledge" and the "de-

tection of errors;" it is useless to talk of it. In answer to the latter part of the foregoing paragraph, I cannot allow Mr. H. to select that part of the business which only relates to Mr. Adam as an "isolated case." It is not fair to make any distinction, but we must take the thing at its source, not at its termination.

A physician always, in his inquiries, goes to the origin of the disorder; he does not confine himself to merely asking his patient what were the symptoms of disease *yesterday;* and in my inquiries, I am fully certain that unprejudiced men will agree with me in admitting, that the "intercourse" with Mr. Adam did *not* form an "isolated case." It must be evident to all, that Mr. Adam only put into execution that which the Marquis of Hastings had frequently threatened.

Mr. Hume is clearly in error when he says,

"Were the Court aware that no postmaster would receive a letter unless the name of the writer was placed outside of it? That was not the case when he was in India. (A proprietor said none but official letters were thus marked.) All letters addressed by individuals to the public press were objected to, unless the name of the writer was known."

I never knew any regulation of the kind. I have written and received hundreds of letters from all parts of India: at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; but only to official letters the name was written, to frank the letter, and the word "*service*" superadded. I have sent letters for publication

to the newspapers, which have gone 800 miles,—have duly arrived and been inserted, and this too with a fictitious signature, and at a time when the censorship existed; true it is, I might have "*diffused*" as much "*knowledge*" as I was capable of furnishing; but had there been any political matter discussed, or attack made on the Government, my lucubrations would very properly never have seen the light.

We come now to the following neatly-turned and pithy sentence. "In such a state of things the press would be a *glorious refuge* for the *oppressed.*"

Mr. H. allùdes to the Government "ruining men's fortunes by the arm of power," as if any British Government, from choice or amusement, delighted in oppressing and ruining its subjects: but to the extract in question. The free press is a "glorious refuge," and a glorious use the natives and their political abettors would make of it. As to the "*oppressed,*" that they certainly are in the general acceptation of the word; and it would be impossible to persuade a *conquered* people, ruled by a foreign yoke, that they were *not* oppressed. The most virtuous and mildest administration that could be formed must be considered by the subjugated as an oppression; and they would consequently view that mighty engine, a "free press," as a "glorious refuge." What use they would make of it is so evident, that I need not state it,

but content myself by adding a word of advice,—while we hold India by the "right of conquest," hold it with firmness: our forefathers have consolidated the empire by *their* prudence and energy, and let us not, by our chimerical projects, end in a month what took them a century to form.

The Honourable Member, in the next passage which I select, explains his own view so well, that it is needless for me to remark upon it, except in the last sentence

"He contended that they were a most intelligent race of men. Wean them from their idols, relieve them from that nightmare of superstition which pressed down their minds, open the flood-gates of light on their understandings, and they would be found as able and intelligent a body of men as any on the face of the earth. But it was argued that there was danger in doing this. What was the danger if they were told the *truth*? 'Oh! they will rebel against you!' Did men, then, rebel merely for *fun*? Did they rebel when they were made happy?"

In reply to this we know, that in the happiest and freest country in the western hemisphere, our own blessed island, the truth must not always be told; and this, many public and eminent men, and many popular writers, have found to their cost to be the case. There are probably not fifty men in existence who would like every truth to be told regarding their lives, and *every* hidden thing revealed; then how must the case be with a Government? You certainly may tell the Hindoos and Mussulmans many honest truths, but you d

it at the risk of your own life; and by the knowledge of these truths they would not become a jot more virtuous or happy. I agree that men do not rebel for "mere fun;" it is not a very pleasing pastime to the sufferers by it; but in the event of unrestricted importation of Europeans, it would be glorious fun to the dissolute, unprincipled, and desperate hordes who would flock in shoals to the scene of "fun," to glut themselves with blood and plunder, reviving with frightful fidelity, upon a scale a thousand times larger, the atrocious and revolting scenes practised by their prototypes, the ENGLISH Buccaneers in South America.

It is said, "Did they rebel when they were made happy?" This is puzzling; but let me see. The natives admit they are happy, and I call upon every one who *has been* in India to deny the assertion, or that the provinces under our dominion are not flourishing and prosperous, the inhabitants cheerful and contented; but it is possible to persuade them they are *not* so, and must not be happy—that they are slaves, and we tyrants; in short, the same thing was practised on the people of this country some five or six years since; but even in England the worthy patriots were deservedly punished for their pains. One argument, however, will here suffice. I do not know how a people, subdued and kept in awe by a handful of foreigners, can strictly be said to be "happy." They are as happy as they possibly can be; they live in a fine climate;

they are very lightly taxed; suffer no oppression or exactions; the soil is very productive; and they are protected against the ruthless invasion of their neighbours, and defended against the avarice and tyranny of their native superiors. Crime is rare; drunkenness is unknown; and they are affectionate and virtuous. I speak of the middling and lower orders, who form the great mass of the people; so far they are "happy," but still they are in bondage, which no one voluntarily submits to.

Mr. Hume says,

"In Virginia, where there were seventy slaves to one free man, there were thirty-five newspapers, but they produced no ill effect."

Most likely among drunken, flogged, and brutalized slaves, who for the most part cannot read, the papers do not produce "ill effects;" but Mr. H. knows India too well to class the debased slaves of Virginia with the enlightened and high-caste Hindoo, or with the proud and domineering Mussulman; but did the simile at all hold good, what analogy is there between a province situated in the centre of a free country, and the vast Oriental continent? In Virginia, any "ill effects," produced from whatever cause, would easily be suppressed by the neighbouring states; not so with a whole and extended empire like Hindoostan.

A little further on we have the following:—

"But he was told that there was nothing against Mr. Adam; that he acted in conformity with the statute, conceiving certain articles in Mr. Buckingham's paper to be improper. But if Mr. Adam considered that calumny and abuse formed sufficient reason for putting down Mr. Buckingham's journal, why did he not put down the John Bull, the proprietors of which were all servants of the Company? He held in his hand a report of the prosecution which Mr. Buckingham had successfully brought against them; and it was a little remarkable that they had never been able to find a single charge against him, although twenty-six numbers of the Calcutta Journal, the worst that could be brought into Court, were scrutinized by Mr. Longueville Clarke. There was no libel in Mr. Buckingham's publication, from the time he sat down in Calcutta until he was sent away from it. If such were the case, was that an honest part which had been acted by Mr. Adam? In his (Mr. Hume's) view of it, he thought it was not an honest part. Mr. Adam spoke of the danger of attacking the feelings of individuals; and what did he himself permit? He suffered a series of the foulest libels and calumnies to be published in the John Bull; they were suffered to pass unheeded by him, notwithstanding his abhorrence of such productions."

Mr. H. must distinguish, as before observed, between a paper that attacked and censured the *Government* and a paper that confined its operation to an attack on an *individual* and *rival* editor: pretty employment, forsooth, for a Governor-General of India, to interfere and act judicially between two public journalists, as regarded their personal squabbles! A novel transition, truly, in the character of the Viceroy of India, to become a reviewer of the periodical press; but as they have other and *perhaps* more important functions to attend to, I have only now to point out a mis-

take of the Honourable Speaker's. The proprietors of the John Bull were *not* all servants of the Company. Neither Mr. Lewin nor Mr. Greenlaw (*two* out of the *four* proprietors) were servants of the Company. Mr. Greenlaw was formerly a mate of an Indiaman, at which time I knew him; he is now a licensed settler, a very respectable man, and holds a situation under the King's Judges, as does Mr. Lewin, who is clerk of the Crown, and likewise residing under a license.

In the next paragraph I am somewhat staggered in my belief; and were not the speech before me in two distinct papers, I should be inclined to doubt the accuracy of the reporter; but judge for yourself, reader.

"In Mr. Buckingham's case, however, his enemies had not been able to procure the legal condemnation of a single act; all the appellations that had been heaped on him were false, and *proved* to be so; and the *whole* of these *admonitions* were UNCALLED FOR and UNNECESSARY."

Good heavens! will it be said that the "admonitions were uncalled for and unnecessary?" *Credat Judæus!* To offer a comment upon this would be worse than useless, as the various public documents and facts, Mr. Buckingham's own written admission of error, and a reference to the various and specific charges as stated officially by the Government, must convince 99 men out of 100, that

the "admonitions" were imperiously called for, and absolutely necessary to preserve public order, and to secure the legal authority of the Government; but it is as well to give one or two of the *objectionable* articles, that "those who run may read."

"No species of merit (I shall advance it without much apprehension of controversion) receives in this country a commensurate remuneration; but, on the contrary, every indication of rising genius is *repressed* with the most undisguised and inconsiderate *wantonness*; and every excitement and emulation is *barbarously withheld*, except by the pernicious means of political influence, or, as it is generally termed, interest. Now not the remotest prospect remains to an officer in India of rising to a participation in the honours and emoluments attached to numberless situations in the service, and the *man of independent* mind, who *disdains* to *crouch* to and fawn on his superior, is *condemned to afflicting* and *perpetual* indigence. His condition closely resembles that of *a slave condemned* to the galleys, who toils with constant and unremitting exertion in the service of a cruel and careless master, without a distant prospect of emancipation, or the remotest hope of personal benefit."

Is there no mischief, no danger in such an appeal to the junior officers—youths high-minded, ardent, and ambitious? Was it a fit letter to be addressed to inexperienced officers of the British army? What other result could it have, than to produce discontent and anger? Would such an address be permitted to be circulated to the King's army, when on *service* in a *foreign country?* But to the real facts of this very letter, which I give

for the information of Mr. Hume;—the Advocate-General declared it was a libel. Mr. Buckingham apologized for it, which was ordered to be read (with the consent of Mr. B.) in open Court, and the intended prosecution was *then* dropped.

Shortly after this, another improper and anonymous letter appeared, entitled "Military Monopoly;" this was written by a Mr. F. and signed "A Young Officer." The author of this letter was given up, and the punishment fell on *him*. But this was not all: would to God, for the benefit of Mr. B. and of his property, it had been! The Governor-General was charged with writing in and aiding the "infamous John Bull!!!"

The success of the Calcutta Journal about this time was at its height; and I think I recollect Mr. B. saying he had 800 subscribers. This, at 20 * rupees per month for each subscriber, and the enormous charge made for two full sheets of advertisements, must have produced an immense income, particularly where there are no duties on advertisements or stamps to pay. Its early literary and scientific character had in some measure subsided, and it had assumed the privilege of discussing and attacking not only the Administration, but every act of theirs; it had become the vehicle of anonymous writers, whose lucubrations

* The price, as well as the form of the Journal, often was changed. Where I was stationed it cost me 25 rupees a month, or about L.12, 10s. for four months.

and mis-statements found vent, thus administering to the tastes, prejudices, and passions of the mass. It had unprecedented success;—but to resume our observations about the "admonitions" being "uncalled for and unnecessary."

The attacks on the Governor of Madras, on the Bishop of Calcutta, on the "six secretaries," and others, I have noticed in another part; but to *prove* how far the Government were from wishing to prevent the "diffusion of knowledge" or the spread of science, the annexed extract, from a letter written by Mr. Secretary Lushington, on the occasion of the attack on the bishop, must be satisfactory to every unbiassed mind.

"With these particulars before your eyes, and in contempt of *former warnings*, you did not hesitate to insert in your Journal such a statement, from a person of whom you declare yourself utterly ignorant, and of whose veracity you consequently could form no opinion. Your defence for so doing is not rested on the merits of the special case; but as your argument must embrace all publications of a corresponding nature, you insist on your *right* of making your journal a vehicle for that species of indirect attack upon character in all instances of a parallel nature.

"When certain irksome restraints, which had long existed upon the press in Bengal, were withdrawn, the prospect was indulged, that the *diffusion of various information*, with the able comments which it would call forth, might be extremely *useful* to all classes of our countrymen in public employment. A paper conducted with temper and ability, on the principles professed by you at the *outset* of your undertaking, was eminently calculated to forward this view. The just expectations of Government have not been answered; whatsoever advantages have been attained,

they have been overbalanced by the mischief of *acrimonious dissensions* spread through the medium of your journal.

"Complaint upon complaint is constantly harassing Government, regarding the impeachment which your loose publications cause to be inferred against individuals. As far as could be reconciled with duty, Government has endeavoured to shut its eyes on what it wished to consider thoughtless aberrations, though perfectly sensible of the practical objection which attends these irregular appeals to the public."

The letter headed "Military Discussions" likewise drew down the animadversions of Government; but that which made the most noise of all anonymous writings was signed "A Military Friend," * and the following memorable passages appeared in one letter :—

* Colonel Robison of the King's service, who, like the "Young Officer," had his name given up; but in both cases I must admit that it was not done by the editor improperly, or without the consent of the parties. Of this subject, from the decease of Col. R. (an old and brave officer) I shall say but little. He was, in consequence of this and another letter, removed from a lucrative command at Nagpore, and ordered to precede his regiment to Europe; he wrote an intemperate letter to the commander-in-chief; he was then brought to a court-martial at Bombay, (a place far removed from any local prejudices,) composed chiefly of King's officers, who found him "guilty of all and every part of the charges preferred against him, with the exception of the word 'scandalous,' contained in the second charge, of which they therefore do acquit him." This was disapproved of; but the articles are too long for insertion; it must suffice to give the opinion of his Royal Highness the Duke of York :—"His Majesty feels it indispensable to the well-being of the service to reprobate in decided terms the

"How much more has it done to stop *foul play*, and introduce improvements in bazaars, and in the administration of military justice, *fining*, *flogging*, *taxing*, *cheating*, how much more than all the orders you can pick and cull out of that valuable compilation, as clear as it is rich, the Bengal code."

"Yes, Sir, I congratulate you most heartily, on being, in a manner, the author of more improvements than all the laws and regulations that have yet been framed to improve things mendable. I congratulate the NATIVES from the bottom of my heart, at the good you have already done them; *and I hope to see the time when it will no longer be in the power of those, who are supposed to protect them from fraud and violence, to harass them even in legal courts*, and under rules and regulations. That it still is so, and that the most crying evils may be, and are, too often experienced under legal forms, where the sufferer has little hope of redress, I could furnish some examples to any one who doubts the facts."

The Bengal code is the work of a century, and has been compiled and revised by committees of the ablest and most experienced of the *King's* and Company's army. It is necessary to mention distinctly *King's*, because the president of the *Military Board*, at all the three presidencies, is the

dereliction of duty, as a soldier and as a subject, which marked the insubordinate and factious conduct of this officer."

It will perhaps be said, that the War Office at home participates in and sympathizes with the acts of Mr. Adam and Mr. Bailey—all leagued together against the common liberties of mankind!

Commander-in-Chief, always a servant of the Crown.

But it would appear by the foregoing extract, that a public journalist, a free mariner by profession, was the only person fitting to improve the army and correct abuses connected with it. These remarks just quoted produced a great sensation, and many officers of his Majesty's army, with whom I was acquainted, condemned them.

Nothing could be more dangerous than an appeal to the native soldiery; even if well founded, it was extremely reprehensible. It is in the GOOD OPINION of the native army, in whose *hands* we have put our *defence*, that we are to look for *our* own safety and the security of our Oriental possessions. But, in my opinion, the most obnoxious letter which appeared was the one regarding the native troops at Hyderabad being paid in a base currency, by which the paymasters and other public officers were said to gain a profit, and stating that it would be better to deduct a part of their pay *.

Of the injurious tendency of these reports we will speak hereafter; but it is my duty to set

* Mr. Buckingham, *in reply* to this at the India House debate of the 23d July, only says, "No writer could convince them of the fact, were it not true." After the mischief was done, they are to be told it was a mistake; but it would then, in all probability, be too late to remedy the defect.

the question in its true light. The troops were paid in a debased coin, but would it not have been fair to have admitted at the same time, that they were *paid the difference of exchange.* I was stationed at the court of a native prince, and for three months was in command of 800 Auxiliaries, and at that time the Company's troops, who formed the Subsidiary force, were paid 22 per cent. to make up the rate of exchange between the Nagpore rupee and the Madras rupee. This is a point that can easily be ascertained, but I would not intentionally insert a word that could possibly be deemed untrue, or act personally offensive to any gentleman, be he for or against a free press.

The native army must not be led astray by misstatements, and even the truth must sometimes be kept from them. I will give an instance in point: tell them that it was the "decided intention of their rulers to convert them to Christianity, and they would instantly cut the throats of the very officers whom they now love and respect;" if this was not the case, I would forfeit every thing I possess on the issue. I have seen a *Brahman* led out for execution, to be shot by his own countrymen*; he had been tried and found guilty by *his own peers*; but had the same man been told he had been cheated in the "payment of his monthly

* *Vide* "Wonders of Elora," p. 464.

stipend," not only he, but all his companions and followers, would instantly have mutinied; and when it had spread by the indissoluble ties of *caste* and fellow-feeling, who would stop its horrid progress? Are the 20,000 King's troops, spread all over India, to suppress a revolt produced by 200,000 men of fanatical and high-minded principles? Here it is where our "empire of OPINION" lies; the Siphauees love their officers; they are regularly paid, humanely treated, and their *religious customs respected;* no insult is ever offered to their women, and in their old age they have a certain provision. But that which most excites their admiration, is that they know even their European officers are liable to be tried and punished for any arbitrary act towards them, or misconduct in the discharge of their duties. With the native princes they knew they were certain of nothing but oppression, and being robbed of their miserable pay by some knave or other in office. Of their courage and faithfulness we have had repeated proofs, as far back as Lord Clive's time: when his Europeans deserted him, the native soldiery remained faithful. At the late battles at Poona and Nagpore, both of which were sanguinary, and their result doubtful for two days, our Siphauees remained firm; and it cannot be too often repeated, that at neither of these places was there a single soldier of his Majesty's army; all were our

own native soldiers, and the odds were 100 to 1 against us. With the Pieshwa the battle was, if possible, more admirable for the honour and character of the Bombay army; the majority of the troops were his *own subjects,* recruited in his *own districts;* to these he offered rewards and inducements to quit their colours, nay, he went so far as to vow vengeance against their wives and families resident in his *own villages;* but it was all unavailing, and always will be while we treat our native troops with justice, respect their customs and prejudices, and do not allow their minds to be excited or inflamed by fictitious and erroneous statements. "The labourer is worthy of his hire;" and I never yet knew, in all my experience, a Company's Siphauee paid in a depreciated coin.

I hardly supposed that Mr. Hume's observation about the "uncalled for and unnecessary admonition" would have spun out my commentary to this length; but I trust I shall be excused; I am a soldier, and feel for my brethren; I love and admire the native army; I have spent the happiest days of my life among them, and shall probably close my career with them. Thus situated, it is my duty to cherish their character, and hold up to deserved admiration their fidelity and courage.

We must not do things by halves, or play with a dangerous disorder; we have got into a habit at

home of trying political experiments, and of endeavouring to improve the condition of our subjects by innovations and theories, that are not only futile in their operation, useless and uncalled for by the people to whom they are directed, but hostile to our interests. Do as much good as you can, but recollect how you attempt it, and the risk at which you do it, and be careful that by *reaction* you do not produce *greater* evils than those you may partially or temporarily reform. Bear in mind, in the changes you purpose to effect in distant and foreign colonies, your own physical insignificance.

We go on, one half of our time occupied in legislating and speechifying, and the other half unlegislating and unspeechifying what has been done. "They do and undo, till they are all undone." The whole matter may be explained in five words; it simply hangs upon this, viz.—make the Hindoos as enlightened as ourselves, and make them half or imperfect converts to Christianity, our expulsion must follow; and would not the Mussulman rule, from principle and policy, restore the former mental darkness and idolatry of their Hindoo subjects? In the struggle, carnage, murder, and rapine might last for a score of years between those very different and distinct nations, but the accursed and abominable rule of the Mussulman would again have the ascendancy. Would not then our Hindoo subjects deplore the day that we

made them a free and thinking people? They would think of us with regret, and curse the temporary freedom we had unhappily bestowed.

The next sentence is rather a sweeping charge, and I hope Mr. Hume, for courtesy's sake, will make an exception to a poor old worn-out Captain like myself; but if he does not, I believe that I am culpable from ignorance, not from design.

"He considered Mr. Adam to be a very culpable man, the Court of Directors were likewise culpable, and in his opinion, *all* those who opposed this motion, the object of which was to discover truth, would also be culpable."

Upon my word, *all culpable!* Well, it is a fortunate thing that I am too poor to buy India stock,* or assuredly I should have been lugged in "nolens volens" as one of "the culpables."

This observation reminds me of an anecdote I have heard related of a juryman who would not come to a verdict. "When they were called into court a second time, it was found that eleven had agreed: his Lordship asked the dissentient juryman why he objected when the thing was quite clear? He very ingenuously replied, "These *eleven* men are *all* so obstinate, that they wo'nt

* A person must possess so much stock before he can become a "speechifier at the Leadenhall forum:" notwithstanding the nervous dread I have of long speeches, I should have said a *few* words on the subject.

agree with me!" So it may be said here: I *think*, upon a moderate calculation, that of those who have a thorough knowledge of India, and object to a free press, there are more than eleven to one; yet *we* are all culpable. But to proceed: Mr. Hume remarks, "In other words, none were to have presses, but those who wrote in praise of the Government." In other words, I wish to say, that the Government require no praise; their actions are open, and their conduct just and honourable; but they do not want anonymous censure, unfounded charges, or the natives to be imposed upon by deceptions or inflammatory writings. As a proof of this, the *official* paper of the Government, the "Calcutta Government Gazette," a paper of a superior character, and edited by a very clever and accomplished man, Dr. Atkinson, a *servant of the Company*, never contained a single laudatory line on the "powers that be," nor do I *recollect* its ever containing a single attack or charge against either Mr. Buckingham or his "Calcutta Journal." The Government, we see, were far from wishing to be praised. If the "John Bull" did it, it was the gratuitous act of the editor, as I or any other person may applaud the acts of the British ministers; and that I will do as long as I see their Administration deserving of commendation.

Again, the Honourable Speaker observes:

"But the honourable Bart. (Sir J. Malcolm) said he spoke of the natives. Very well; he (Mr. Hume) wished to see what effect a free press would have on the natives of India. Gentlemen said they were very ignorant: he admitted it, he allowed that the natives *wanted information*, he agreed that there was much ignorance; but what was their duty? Certainly, to *remove* that ignorance: and had any instrument been ever found so effectual for the *dissemination* of *truth* and *knowledge* as a free press?"

In one part of his speech, the natives are said to be a "*most* intelligent race of men," (*vide* P. 142,) and here we find them "*very* ignorant." Be that as it may, by Mr. Hume's own admission, we find that schools and societies abound in India, and that we are gradually doing our utmost to improve the moral state of our subjects. To effect a radical change in the character of people so inveterately imbued with prejudices and religious superstitions as the Hindoos is not quite so easy and safe a task as is supposed; and if we do not go slowly and imperceptibly about it, our best efforts will be frustrated, and the mischief recoil on ourselves.* As to the last sentence of the para-

* What Mr. Canning said, in his memorable speech of the 17th March, on the subject of the West India colonies, applies with greater force to any sudden or violent change being proposed in the habits or institutions of our subjects in the East Indies, because in the East they have *arms in their hands*, and are for the most part a proud and restless people. The Right Honourable Secretary says, "Instead of diffusing gradually over those dark regions a pure and salutary light, we may at once kindle a flame only to be quenched *(if ever quenched)* in blood."

graph, as an Englishman, I must agree with it, although I admit that, very often, circumstances which are not true, but very false, are disseminated by a free press.

In Great Britain, except in troublesome times, the evil is but of little consequence, and counteracting checks are abundant; but in our Eastern dominions the case is very different; *there* the times are always troublesome and suspicious, and truth may be productive of vast mischief.

We may attain "knowledge" with a "restricted" press: witness France and Germany. The former are more ardent, and do more than we do, and the latter are scarcely a step behind us in literature and science.

The next paragraph which I quote is of a similar tendency to the last. It is this:

"He would draw the same *conclusion* with *respect* to *India*. Ignorance and barbarism excited all the bad passions of the human mind; therefore he would give the people of India knowledge; he would make them a reading and a *thinking people*; he would so educate them that they should feel, and *duly* appreciate the blessing of *being a free people*."

The conclusion with regard to England and India will not hold good, as I have repeatedly said; and it must be apparent to every thinking man. With respect to making the natives a thinking people, it may or may not be advisable; but

have no hesitation in fully according with the Honourable Gentleman as to their "*duly*" appreciating the "blessing of being a *free* people." Let us inquire a little about the "ignorance and barbarism." It is a melancholy and undeniable fact, that, although the Hindoos are heathens, and are daily bespattered by hyper-cant with false charges and foul appellations, they are more sober, chaste, and kind-hearted, than the like orders of people in England. There is less crime and vice in Calcutta, containing 350,000 inhabitants, than will be found to exist among 350,000 people in this country; a people, too, who are educated,* and boast of their morality. I will take upon myself to say, that upon a reference to the calendar and police, there shall be found more atrocious actions and convictions recorded in London, than in the whole kingdom of Bengal, including the city of Calcutta; yet here we have a "free press" to "diffuse knowledge," and the

* The statement which Mr. Brown made at a late meeting for the formation of a Society for the Prevention of Crime," was this:—He said, that "of twelve thousand persons who had passed through Newgate in five years, 2000 had been acquitted, and 15 or 1600 had been discharged by proclamation, the Grand Juries having thrown out the bills against them;" and, as a proof that the *want of education was not the cause of crime*, he added, that "of these 12,000 persons, two-thirds could read, and three-fifths could read and write; one in six had also been in Newgate before."

Indians are said to be "ignorant and barbarous."* In India, where Europeans locate, there we will find riot, drunkenness, and vice. This was the case at Oude, when in October, 1798, the Lord Wellesley banished several Europeans. On the occasion he officially wrote as follows :—

"The number of British subjects established in Oude is a mischief which requires no comment. My resolution is fixed to dislodge every European excepting the Company's servants. My wish is to occasion as *little private* distress as possible, but the *public service must take its course;* and it is not to be expected that some cases of hardship will not be found in the extent of so great a measure."

On this Mr. Mill observes, in his "History of British India," vol. 1, page 154,—

"These last words indicate extensive numbers. Why did not the Governor-General, before he dared to strike at the fortunes of great numbers of his countrymen, declare and prove the evils which they produced? For what reason is it, let them declare who know what is understood, under a government such as ours, by the responsibility of the ruling few, that he has never yet been called upon to account for such conduct? The *good* which they were *calculated* to *produce* is *obvious* to all: the question still remains *unanswered*—What were the evils?"

* I have more than once been told by the provincial judges in the interior of India, that they had more annoyance and vexation from a few resident free-settlers, than from the thousands of natives who formed the population of the province, and in many cases the natives themselves were urged on by the Europeans.

I wish to inform Mr. Mill, who, in this as well as on two or three other points, has quite misconceived his subject, that many of these very people produced incalculable evil to the country; complaint after complaint was made of their violence and extortions; as a native once observed to me, they "beat the men, violated the women, and even, Sir, would you believe it? made false mohurs." * Riots were frequent; the timid natives were afraid to oppose an European. As many of them were persons who had fled from debt or punishment at Calcutta, it may be supposed that a wild and extensive country like Oude, generally in an unsettled and refractory state, was a fine asylum for enterprising and needy Europeans, without either respectability or property. Who was to bring these offenders to justice, or punish them? The Mahommedan native officers were corrupt, and had not the power; the king's authority was feeble, the court vicious and venal, and the country filled with *conflicting political parties* that then agitated the kingdom. These circumstances rendered Oude a safe and advantageous refuge for the adventurer. So far distant from Calcutta, it was impossible for the British Government to interfere, and only one decisive measure remained, namely, their immediate ex-

* A gold coin, value sixteen rupees, or about L.2 sterling.

pulsion from the kingdom; and had his Lordship not done it, his neglect of duty would have plunged that turbulent country into a state of anarchy and distress.

To show the fallaciousness of fine-spun theories, and highly-wrought sentiments, in which gentlemen at home are too apt to indulge when speaking of countries of which they have no practical knowledge, a reference to the late Hydrabad affair, and the long minute of the "Supreme Council" on that momentous transaction, will afford a perfect confirmation of not only the impolicy, but the positive danger, of allowing Europeans to tamper with the native princes, or to administer to their dissipation or ambition, to the rapacity of their ministers or the venality of the courtiers, to gratify either of whom the European, for his own ends and interest, would go any length, not even regarding (as has been lately proved) the authority of the British resident at these corrupt and feeble courts. I have not the least doubt, were Europeans permitted to go up the country, and settle at their own discretion, that the natives in a year or two would be in a worse state than when under the Mussulman rule, and that in consequence in two years India would be in a flame from one extremity to the other. The question does not, as Mr. Mill assumes, "remain unanswered." A page or two hence he will

find the legal authorities by which Lord Wellesley and Mr. Adam have both been guided. A late writer, a *King's officer* too, (Lieutenant Wallace, author of "Fifteen Years in India,") thus speaks of Lord Wellesley, who, like his successors, is said to be fond of "striking at the fortunes of great numbers of his countrymen."

Lieutenant Wallace observes:

"No British Governor-General was ever the object of such general admiration among the natives as Lord Wellesley. The vulgar thought him a god, and I have heard some of the classically educated half-casts call him the Pericles of England."

The name of Wellesley, (*Weesly Sahib,*) like that of Warren Hastings, is held in great respect to this day by the natives, whether Hindoo or Mussulman. A native of rank, a short time ago at Nagpore, with whom I was conversing on a political transaction, said, "Weesly Sahib was the man for India; he would not let ashes be thrown upon his head by any one, he protected all, and he would not let foolish people talk nonsense in the Bazaar." In fact, during the late discussions in Calcutta, the natives in the interior of the country could not understand how we could be so silly as to let our own subjects ridicule us, or the natives to "talk nonsense" against their masters. It was to these people quite incomprehensible, nor did they fail to reprobate it as both dangerous and

silly. I will give a more recent instance to show how much the natives improve by a contact with us, in the "diffusion of knowledge," and in becoming a "thinking people." In September, 1823, the Commander-in-chief of British India, his Excellency Sir C. Paget, thus expressed himself in print on a general court-martial, which had just taken place:—

"He would be very glad to stop here; but the circumstances of this case render it necessary to state, that the loose and disorderly habits of the *invalids*, and *especially* the *European*, stationed at Chunar, were so *shamefully notorious*, as to induce the late Commander-in-chief to select Lieutenant Colonel Harriot as a fit officer to correct and reform these abuses.

"A *more difficult and irksome duty* could not have been imposed upon an officer, and it is with pain that the Commander-in-chief is compelled to add, that if Lieutenant Colonel Harriot had received from the Commandant of the garrison that countenance and support in his labours which he had a right to expect at his hands, he has little doubt that success would have crowned his efforts."

Now, be it observed, that the native invalids, formerly the inoffensive and sober siphauee, had actually become contaminated by their intercourse with the Europeans. These Europeans are numerous, not only as invalids, but settlers, who have congregated there for trade, &c.

Chunar is one of the principal stations of the missionaries, where they have a large church and

regular worship. At this place there are a few natives who profess to be converts; and a more squalid, dirty, and drunken set I never saw even among the Pariahs, worthy companions truly of the Europeans. In a journey of upwards of 800 miles, which I performed six years ago, I halted at this station; and it was the only place where I met with insult and neglect: the natives were, in fact, horribly demoralized. In my route I passed through some of the wildest, and, at that time, disturbed parts of Revah and Jubbulpore, without an escort; but positively I met with no interruption or annoyance, but at Chunar I was not only cheated, but could get neither coolies nor guides. The people whom we have just been speaking of *are*, according to Mr. Hume's wish, a "reading people," and they "appear duly to appreciate the blessing of living with free people;" but in the event of the natives becoming a "reading and thinking people," are they only to read that which is good? and may they not think, not only very lightly, but very disrespectfully, of their European masters? As to their being a "free people," if that is wished, we will say no more about the shackles, or any thing else; we are doing all we can, both by writing and speeches, to make them believe that they are slaves, and we tyrants; with that impression on their minds, the day is not distant when they will become, to all intents and pur-

poses, free, but it will be but for a few short years. In another part of the honourable member's speech I meet with the following paragraph, which I cannot consent to pass over in silence:—

"He hoped this subject would be taken up from *day to day*, until justice was done to the natives of India, and they were placed in that situation in which the legislature *evidently wished* they should be placed. The proprietors had the power of *agitating* this important subject whenever they pleased. If the Directors refused to call a court, ten proprietors, by posting a notice on the Royal Exchange, could compel them to assemble; or, in default, they would lose their charter."

These repeated debates, like the discussions on the West India policy in the House of Commons, are only productive of evil,* as they are sure to find their way to the East Indies; but I much doubt whether, after two signal defeats, the party will again return to the charge, however they threaten it. In the words of Dr. Johnson, I contend that ours are not "assertions without proof," and I may add, our arguments are supported by stubborn truths. As to the intention of the "le-

* "It is the fear of an experiment involving a radical change, which, however benevolent in its intention, may lead to results which the promoters of it did not contemplate, and which their habitual modes of thinking, and their means of information, may not have rendered them competent to anticipate." *Quarterly Review.*

gislature" with regard to the natives, Mr. H. admits, in two preceding extracts, that various efforts are making for ameliorating their condition, and improving their minds; and although I am no advocate for sudden innovation in the social and political state of a country like India, I will concede this objection, with but one word of explanation,—that if we could but succeed, in the course of years, in abolishing the sanguinary rites of the Hindoos, we should have *little more to do;* for in some of the principal attributes and humanities of our nature, very many instances might be cited where the Hindoos are *examples to us.* *

If the honourable member means, that justice is not done to the natives in the instance of the "free press," and that the wishes of the legislature are defeated, I cannot agree with the statement. In no case have the legislature approved

* Sir Charles Forbes, Bart. himself *not* in the *Company's service,* and who resided in India upwards of thirty-four years, says: "The natives were disposed to be attached to us; they were a *kind* and *good-hearted race;* he *never* met with an instance of ingratitude on the part of an Indian, and he was very sorry that of his own countrymen he could not say so much." In this I cordially agree; and very many traits of amiable character and disposition will be shown when I write my "Travelling Memoranda of twenty years;" to corroborate the foregoing remark. At the same time I am free to confess, that some Englishmen of rank, with a "goodly exterior," and who make shift to bear themselves well with the world, will appear with some *little* drawbacks in their character.

or sanctioned it. It is well known, that the document from Calcutta, and those from the India House, addressed to Mr. Canning when President of the Board of Control, remained unnoticed. The Right Honourable Secretary tacitly allowed the experiment to be tried; and Lord Hastings, with great magnanimity of intention, did try, and found it would not answer the end proposed; so that the wishes of the legislature have neither been frustrated nor disregarded. In the next and last passage which I shall quote, the honourable gentleman says:

"He might be met with the assertion, that Mr. Adam had acted legally; but, according to his (Mr. Hume's) construction of the acts of Parliament, he denied that Mr. Adam had proceeded in a legal manner: he entirely denied that Mr. Adam had any right to send to Europe an individual residing in India without license, unless that individual had a previous trial."

As a few persons, I know, think with Mr. Hume on this point, I will give the acts * of the legislature, which will at once prove that not only were the late proceedings strictly legal, but that those in power were enjoined to use them.

* *Vide* Mr. Randle Jackson's speech. It cannot be supposed that I, as a plain and unlettered soldier, can be well acquainted with the judicial tenor of these acts; and I may further add, that in the distant part of England where I reside, I could not obtain them. Moreover, I have not perused, or even seen, a single pamphlet or publication, *pro* or *con*, on the subject of the free press in India.

"The charter of Elizabeth, which was granted more than two hundred years ago, provided 'that none of the Queen's subjects, except the Company's servants, and their assigns, should resort to the East Indies, without being licensed by the said Company, under pain of forfeiting their ships and cargoes, and being liable to imprisonment, till they, the offenders, should give a bond of L.1000 not to trade there again.' The act of Charles, after reciting the acts of Elizabeth and James, provided 'that the Company might seize on all British subjects residing in India without the Company's license, and send them home to England.' The 5th of Geo. I., entitled 'An Act for better securing the lawful trade of His Majesty's subjects to the East Indies,' which was passed nearly one hundred years afterwards, enacts, by section 1st, 'that if any British subject be found in India without a license, the Company may arrest and seize him, and remit him to England, to answer for his offence according to law.' By the 9th of Geo. II., for the better securing the trade of the East India Company, it was enacted, 'that all persons found in the East Indies without license should be deemed guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, and might be seized and sent to England, and lodged in the next county gaol to the place where they should be landed, until they gave securities to stand their trial.' An enactment of a similar nature was contained in the charter before the last, *viz.* the 33d of Geo. III. There was not, he believed, a Parliamentary rule more sound in its construction than this, *viz.* that where the legislature had continued, through a long series of years, to repeat the same enactment, it was to be held that its operation had been found advantageous. How, then, did the case stand in the present instance? In the last act of Parliament relative to the Company, *viz.* the 53d of Geo. III., they found that the legislature, so far from abridging any of the powers conferred on the Government of India by preceding acts, with respect to the transmission of persons to England, absolutely re-enacted and enlarged those powers, and specified, in the most particular manner, the mode in which they should be carried into execution. (*Hear!*) This statute, after enacting that all persons in India should be subject

to the local governments, went on to provide 'that, if any persons, having obtained licenses to reside in India from the Court of Directors, shall at any time so conduct themselves, that, in the judgment of the Governor-General, or governors of the other presidencies, they shall be held to have forfeited their claim to the countenance and protection of the government of such presidency, &c., it shall and may be lawful for such Governor-General or governor of such presidency to declare that the licenses of such persons are void, and such persons shall be deemed to be in India without license.'"

I shall not particularise any more of the honourable gentleman's speech; the residue is of a general and diffuse character, and from nearly the whole of it I entirely dissent; it is an able and candid speech, but does not apply to India in any one bearing, nor does it justify the party whose cause Mr. H. advocates. The generous sentiments, however, of Mr. Hume, do him infinite credit; and were it only his wish to succour the fallen, he would stand higher in my opinion than ever; but in our search after truth we must not give way too much to our tender feelings, nor slur over those causes which had the effect of producing the distress or injury complained of. Voltaire says,

> "When we pity woes which we have felt,
> 'Tis but a partial virtue."

I have had my share of them, but in most cases have brought them on myself; and though we may in some measure extenuate and soften down our imprudencies, it becomes a difficult task to jus-

tify them, or criminate those who have at first tried to check our wayward course, but who have afterwards been forced to pursue unkind and harsh measures to reclaim us.

CHAPTER XI.

"It is very difficult for a politician to be an honest man, and very dangerous for an honest man to be a politician."

ORIENTAL HERALD.

MR. BUCKINGHAM.

MR. BUCKINGHAM may make speeches and write essays, but because I happen to be a military officer, I am to have my lips hermetically sealed. This is strange and arbitrary doctrine, and a doctrine which I by no means will subscribe to; besides, it comes with a very bad grace from the staunch advocate for *freedom* of *speech*. I have as undeniable a right and as inextinguishable a claim to write and speak as any other man; and while I do so from principle, in temperate and respectful language, I shall not be blamed by my countrymen, nor will I be diverted from my purpose by the dictation of any one, while I am endeavouring to give them a clear insight into the state of India, and the question of the free press.

In the letters published in the Sun, it must have been observed that I scrupulously avoided mentioning either the name of Mr. Buckingham or his late Calcutta Journal. I had no wish to recall to his memory his severe losses, or the disappointments

he has experienced in his political career. In the essays alluded to, I confined myself to the general *question* of the "Free Press" in India, and made no allusion to persons either by designation or inference. That I have not done the thing well is my misfortune: there are few men who can write like Mr. B., and still fewer who can more adroitly slip over substances and facts, and substitute in their place fallacies and phantoms. Although I am so dull that "my meanings are not to be traced," &c. &c. which is all very cogent no doubt, and perhaps may be true; yet we often know, that in interested persons, "none are so blind as those that will not see." However, whether I ever possessed any intellectual powers, or whether they have deserted me on this occasion, *n'importe*; a man may possess a little common sense, which, aided by a long residence in *various* parts of India, and a conscientious feeling of rectitude towards both parties, will give to his sentiments some little weight. Mr. B. admits this, and says, I had "given to arguments, utterly devoid of reason, a degree of importance which they would never otherwise have attained." A little further on Mr. B., with singular infelicity, says; "Fortunately the letters of Captain Seely were of little importance." These inconsistencies in a public writer, who has an object to effect, are nothing, for he must, in his endeavour to gain proselytes, write down those who have the misfortune to dif-

fer with him, and in pursuing his object every thing is made to assume a perverted and distorted shape. In the Oriental Herald of October Mr. B. has thought proper to notice my letters on the "Free Press," and in doing so I wish he had abstained from that ill-humour and acidity of expression, of which forbearance I have set him so decided an example. Mr. B. asserts, that I "expressly provoked the discussion;" this I must deny. Mr. B.'s attack on me is purely gratuitous and uncalled for; in *my* letters I made not the most distant allusion to *his* name or newspaper; sufficient it was that I was in opposition to the question of the "Free Press," to be thought deserving of notice, and accordingly I am selected as the one of "numerous writers." It was said but the other day (Feb. 1824), "While so *able* and *distinguished* an officer as Sir J. Malcolm is unemployed, we should conceive that the Company would not think of looking elsewhere for a Governor of Bombay, should its present *able* and *enlightened* servant, Mr. Elphinstone, be removed to Madras." * *Now*, that eminent man, Sir John,

* Sir John Malcolm, in the Oriental Herald for September, and Mr. Elphinstone in October, are very differently spoken of. Of Mr. E. it is said, he "mis-states facts, and even then *he* is not *able* to make out his position, without being illogical in argument." In another passage it is said, "He has been playing a double game quite unworthy of himself." Poor Mr. Elphinstone! poor Sir John Malcolm! and poor Capt. John Seely!!!

is censured and ridiculed. But while I speak what I know to be the real state of the case, and am free from hostility to any one, my motive will be applauded, and I still have the pleasing satisfaction of knowing, that principle alone actuates me in the course I pursue.

From my heart I feel for Mr. B. and the severe losses he has met with, but it was his own fault; he brought the misfortunes on himself; he was repeatedly warned of his danger, and knew the risk he ran; he cannot therefore be surprised (however severely he may feel) at the course pursued towards him; and during the whole of the business, from first to last, he has only himself to blame. I will now tell Mr. B. why I took up so zealously the cause of India. He must recollect a most unfounded and unjustifiable attack made on the Indian army both in the Globe and Traveller (19th July), and in the Oriental Herald of the following month. This unwarranted statement on as fine an army as any in the world, I, as a soldier, could not help replying to; and as this was but one of a series of erroneous articles, I felt it a duty to vindicate the professional character of my brethren, and to espouse the cause of "that *country* whence I derive my bread." I do solemnly assure Mr. B. that had he confined himself in his speeches and writings to his own case, I should never have said a word; but, on the contrary, would, if in my power, have felt satis-

faction in aiding him; and this I believe he knows. *Principles*, not *persons*, were my objects; that both are now *included* in our examinations and strictures is no fault of *mine*. Mr. B. cavils at my saying, "a country whence I derive my bread;" this he repeats two or three times in *italics*, but for "*country*" Mr. B. substituted "India Company," and would infer that I am an interested eulogist. I refer Mr. B. to the following passage in my "Wonders of Elora," page 287:—"The unaccountable neglect experienced from the Court of Directors to whom I rendered a most important service and permanent benefit in the civil branch of the military service at Bombay." I have made three applications to the Court on this very subject, *all* of which have been *uniformly rejected*, on the principle that "a recommendation must come from the local government." To this I have replied, "I had no intention, when I left India, of proceeding to England, and had not been in Bombay for upwards of six years, and that I never thought of obtaining the required recommendation;"—so that Mr. B.'s assumption in arraigning my intentions, or impugning my motives, as being selfish or interested, must, with the facts before him, fall to the ground. The service alluded to was this: I was barrack-master, and the non-commissioned officers and others, in their public indents for stores, workmen, &c. were in the habit of altering the figures, thus making a 1 into a 4,

10 into 16, or 19, and occasionally *adding* a cypher: this I detected and exposed, and at *my suggestion* the figure was to be expressed in "*words* written at *full length*." This was, I think, doing a service to the State; but the Company thought otherwise: certainly under this circumstance of the rejection of my claim, I can feel no bias; and if there can be purity of sentiment and of principle in a public writer, I may, on this account, lay some claim to it. No reward the Court can bestow, or punishment they or any other body or individual can inflict, will make me forego that which I conceive, as a servant of the State, and a defender of the soil, to be my bounden duty. I "derive my bread from that country," and it behoves me to do the best for her interests.

Mr. B. objects to my observation about "absolute power regulated by laws;" there may seem a little confusion in the idea, but I do not pretend to compete with a giant in talent and knowledge like my opponent. What I meant, and which perhaps is sufficiently evident, was, that the power of the Civil Administration in various parts of India is "regulated" by the Mahommedan and Hindoo codes of law. This is the case in the Courts of Circuit and the Nizamut Adawlut, and Suder Devannee Adawlut jurisdictions. A handful of foreigners ruling over eighty-five millions of people, *must* have absolute power, or our dominion would

soon cease; but it is not to be inferred that many of their judicial acts are not "regulated" by the ancient laws of the country.

Mr. B. objects to "colonization and the consequent loss of India;" and in refutation brings forward the "West Indies, the Cape, Mauritius, and New Holland!" but Mr. B. forgets that we *colonized* North America and *lost* it. Restoring an island, or infant settlement, to the dominion of the parent state is not difficult; but a vast continent like India, inhabited by conquered millions, is a very different affair indeed.

Mr. Buckingham has thought fit to contradict another statement in the following words: "What is published in the English papers is scarcely understood by those who conduct the native ones; and as to those who go out to India by permission aiding these papers in translations, &c. it is altogether contrary to the fact. It is utterly untrue, and must proceed from misrepresentation or ignorance; we presume the latter."

I can only assure Mr. B. that up the country in the Mahratta States, I have seen copies of articles not only from the Calcutta papers, but from the English ones; but to convince Mr. B. and the public of the *intentions* of the native editors, I need only refer to the prospectus of the *Jam-i-Jehan-Noomah*, wherein the editor proposes to publish whatever may in the English papers appear valu-

able,' and *whatever* may be addressed to him in private letters, and likewise all he can collect from the native cities. If this does not offer an opportunity for circulating libels, I do not know what would.

Truth in a public writer (like chastity in a female,) is a precious jewel, and we shall find that what I have asserted is not untrue; I therefore cheerfully leave the question between me and Mr. B. in the hands of all impartial men. I only beg of them to read the following from the said *Jam-i-Jehan-Noomah*, July 16, 1823.

"It is understood from the Ukbhars, that his gracious Majesty often goes in the direction of Kakrael for the purpose of taking air. In consequence of the implicit confidence placed by his Majesty in the abilities of his officers, he has not so *minutely attended* to the affairs of the state; and the consequence has been that, owing to their neglect and inattention, the revenues have not been collected, nor the disbursements properly attended to: the *ruin* of *the country*, and the distress of the *population* and SOLDIERY, have been made apparent."

Is not this a libel on the King of Oudè, and one too of the most dangerous character? The country being in a very turbulent state, filled with political parties and hostile bands, it is only the certainty of the British interfering that prevents the most desolating and murderous civil war raging throughout the country; but I would wish to ask, is it politic or wise to allow a needy, intriguing

and factious native radical to censure the native princes, to sow discord among their followers, and to propagate treason? No government in the world would tolerate such proceedings in a turbulent and conquered country like India. The dissemination of such writings must be the first step towards sapping the foundation on which rests our mighty Eastern empire, nearly unwieldy from the impolitic and dangerous additions of territory, by which the limbs have become too big for the body. It is in these remote parts of the British dominion where we cannot be too cautious or vigilant. The natives in the Mahratta and distant states are a very different race from the effeminate, sensual, and corrupt natives generally found among the lower orders at the presidencies. Mr. B. has never been among these people in the interior, or he would know that they were warlike and intriguing, restless and hardy.

I do not choose to copy Mr. B.'s phraseology, but shall only observe, he labours under a great mistake, when he says, that "what is published in the English papers is scarcely understood by those who conduct the native ones." Mr. B. is evidently in error, and I hope will be convinced of it, and that it is not with him as with Butler's hero—

> "He that's convinced against his will
> Is of the same opinion still."

The following native letter must prove to my readers that the Hindoos more than "scarcely understand."

"Letter from three Hindoos engaged in translating Ferguson's Astronomy.

"To Baboo Tarinny Churn Mittre, Native Secretary to the Calcutta School-books Society.

"Sir,—Having frequently been led to observe, that an essay on English astronomy translated in the Bengallee language, would be of great utility and service to numbers of our young native brethren, who as yet have no knowledge of the English arts and sciences; and having also sufficient reason to believe, that by the knowledge to be derived from these sciences, besides the several other conveniences and advantages the work may produce, the long-rooted superstitions and prejudices of our fellow-countrymen may be entirely eradicated, we are induced to translate Mr. James Ferguson's Easy Introduction to Astronomy into the language that is in common use among ourselves, to convey an idea of that science to our native friends; and, as in the original, to illustrate it with copper-plates.

"This translation will be put to press as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers is obtained to defray the expenses of printing, &c. To be printed on the best Patna paper, with a clear and new type, and to contain about two hundred pages octavo size, a specimen of which is herewith transmitted to you; and if it should appear likely to be of any use or benefit to the public, and should meet with your approbation, we earnestly implore your patronage and encouragement, by subscribing to as many copies for the use of the 'Calcutta School-book Society' as you may think necessary, in case we shall be induced to continue our exertion; and we shall consider ourselves under the highest obligation to you.

"Price to subscribers.....Sa.Rs. 4
"Ditto to non-ditto 6

"We have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient and very humble servants,
"BIRJOMOHUN DUTT,
"MOHES CHUNDER PAULIT,
"HURRO CHUNDER PAULIT."

"*Calcutta.*"

The following *passage* from a long letter addressed to Mr. Harrington, formerly judge of a native court, but now member of the Council, will show that the natives do "understand;" and at the same time it will show the respect with which they have *hitherto* viewed the conduct of their superiors. The letter is very long, and was written on the occasion of requesting that a portrait of Mr. H. might be placed in the Court of Justice.

"So general is the applause excited by the justice and integrity of this upright character, whom a Nowsherwan might have envied, that throughout the existing annals of the historic page, not one among the noble of former times is mentioned as equal or comparable to him: yet in all ages men are wont to acknowledge the maintenance of equity and repression of injustice, as the ultimate design of all law.

"Of no former judge is it there recorded, that he left the conflicting parties mutually satisfied in the end, though such has been the result in matters which have come before this sagacious and prudent personage; and not, as was usually the case, viz. that the successful party should be gratified, while the vanquished remained dissatisfied."

One other proof will suffice, and by it we shall see, that natives are capable of "understanding." It is from the "Journal of a Traveller in India."

"The conduct of the Armenians and Parsee was perfectly decorous and polite; the latter particularly attracted our attention, from the variety and extent of his information on subjects which might have been supposed altogether without the scope of his observation. He spoke and *wrote* our language *perfectly*; and ere many days had elapsed, he had learnt to take a meridian altitude, and the calculations of the *longitude* by the *chronometer quite as correct* as the ship's officers."

These are the persons whom Mr. B., in refutation of my opinion, asserts "scarcely understood what was published in the English papers."

With regard to the last sentence of Mr. B., of Europeans aiding the natives in translation, I have to observe that I, and many others, believed such to be the case. I have no positive corroboration to bring forward, but many articles I saw, from the marked and ingenious way in which they were turned, smelt strongly of European manufacture; if, however, they were not, there can be no doubt but among the hordes which would pour into India, on the restrictions being removed, that Calcutta would soon be blessed with its Ingses and Thistlewoods; its Spa Fields orators, Tom Paines, Palmers, and Carlisles.

We come now to an examination of the topics introduced by Mr. Buckingham; and I shall give them all the weight to which they appear to be

entitled. Mr. B. prefaces his speech by a wish to keep "himself and his private affairs in the background;" he first adverts to the observation of Mr. R. Jackson, who, he said, "had assumed that the Government of India was a despotism, and must so continue."

"Now, he (Mr. B.) presumed all must agree, that a government of despotism and a government of law were inconsistent. What he should call a government of despotism was that in which there were no laws to regulate or control power, such as prevailed in Persia, in Egypt, and it might be said in Prussia, at the present moment; but the assumption was unfounded as to India, where, from time immemorial, there was a government of laws. The Hindoos had a government of laws, and so *voluminous and piled* had they become, that after twenty years' labour a lawyer could hardly prepare an index for the digest. The Mahometans, it was true, had their laws in one book, the Koran, but the commentaries on that single book had become as elaborate as those which had been written upon the laws of England. Besides these various codes and commentaries, there were the local regulations of the British authorities, so numerous that they can hardly be classified. How, then, could this be called a government of despotism, with such an accumulation of the Hindoo, Mahometan, and British codes of law, superadded to which were the laws made by the British Parliament, session after session, and the subsequent alterations and repeals of many of them."

In answer to this *accurate* description of the nature of a despotic government, I have but few observations to make; but I trust they are cogent and conclusive, and may serve to place in a clearer light the true meaning of the term "despotism," according to its general acceptation, than the long definition above quoted.

In all countries, however despotic their governments may be, there are laws,—*laws, to punish offenders*, although there are *none to control the power of the ruler;* and by the word despotism is simply understood, that the person or persons in whom the government of a country is vested, shall not be amenable to any tribunal, composed of inferior parties in the state, for the exercise of their power; consequently the ancient government of the Hindoos, however "voluminous and piled" their laws might be, was not less despotic than the government of Persia or of Egypt; for at what period, I would ask, were the laws of the Hindoos such as *regulated* or *controlled* the sovereign power? When did their laws authorise the people to dispute the authority or vilify the conduct of their native princes? The distinction, therefore, so drawn by Mr. B., carries absurdity and contradiction on the face of it. What laws, in short, under the freest state that ever existed in ancient or modern times, sanctioned the unrestrained license of the pen or of the tongue? Surely none. Such imbecility must have been followed by the speedy subversion of all law; and the wildest anarchy would have raged in its stead. Then, why should our vast empire in the East, which is built and maintained on public opinion alone, (however the term may be sneered or cavilled at,) be left at the mercy of clamorous writers, who may conceive

that their road to wealth or power is to be found by exciting popular feeling.

If such consequences are to be dreaded from the abuse of the liberty of the press (for such must every libel on the Government be), what more effectual or more rational way can be found to arrest the progress of disaffection, than to send those turbulent spirits, whose study it is to excite it, out of the country whose safety they would endanger? In my opinion, it is the only punishment that can be devised for such offences,—milder than they deserve, who, under the specious pretence of "protecting the interests of the millions who form the governed" in India, irritate and inflame their minds by calling upon them to write and talk about "redress of grievances," which is, in other words, little less than stimulating them to take a signal and horrid revenge on their present rulers, under whose authority they would otherwise live contentedly, and who are indisputably more their protectors than their oppressors.

I shall pass over the flat denial which Mr. Buckingham gives as to his having received repeated admonitions, because enough has been already shown to convince the most incredulous that he had been warned of his illegal proceedings again and again; and that, instead of assuming a stretch of power in the exercise of their authority, the Government were only to blame in suffering his

open violations of the law to be so often repeated before they enforced their just prerogative.

Mr. Buckingham next observed:—

"The chief danger attributed to the existence of a free press in India was the tendency it might have to alienate the affections of the native powers from the British Government. That view was erroneous. Was not disaffection, he asked, more likely to be produced by a *clandestine correspondence* than by *open appeals* through the public press?"

To this query I reply with a decided negative. It must be apparent to the most inexperienced man, and, therefore, requires no illustration, that a "clandestine correspondence" could never be carried on to a hundredth part of the extent that these "open appeals" could; and the danger arising from the former would consequently be less than from the latter, in the exact proportion to its limited circulation.

Mr. Jackson having, in his speech, observed, that "it had for the last two hundred years been the principle of the Indian Government, sanctioned by the British Legislature, that the *non-access of strangers* was essential to the safety and prosperity of the Company's possessions," Mr. Buckingham "denied this principle; and asked who were the East India Company? strangers; all strangers." Indeed! and does then a possession of two hundred years constitute no claim to territory? Is there no difference between the rights of a chartered Company, who have governed a conquered country with justice and humanity for

two centuries, and the adventurer, who no sooner sets his foot on that country than he opposes the public authorities, and promulgates his own theory of legislation? It is astonishing that a person of Mr. Buckingham's acute powers of reasoning, and one so well drilled in discussing the question, could have advanced any thing so truly ridiculous; and it would only be a waste of time to follow him through all the mazes in which he afterwards gets bewildered.

So disinterested and benevolent are Mr. Buckingham's views, that he says "he valued the happiness of the natives of India above all other considerations; and if any thing were proposed, which had a tendency to injure the natives, he for one should set his face against it." I can readily believe Mr. Buckingham would "set his face against" any measures which appear likely to maintain the present system, as by law established, in India; but I must beg leave to be excused giving credence to his assertion, that "he valued the happiness of the natives above all other considerations." His editorial career has sufficiently shown that he valued the profits of his Calcutta Journal more; and that he values popular applause more, no dispassionate and candid man will deny, who has watched his unceasing attempts to make his own individual case notorious since his expulsion from that country whose government he contemned and derided.

Referring to the publication of the letter on the subject of the payment of the Nizam's troops, Mr. Buckingham calls to his aid all the sophistry he can muster for the occasion, and which I shall quote for the purpose of showing to what miserable shifts a man of talent even may be reduced, when he attempts to make that which is wrong appear right.

"The native troops (says Mr. B.) never saw newspapers in the English language, and even if they did, and could understand them, no mischief could ensue from stating to them what they must themselves know to be untrue. Suppose the first regiment of guards were stationed at Gibraltar, and there paid their regular pay in full dollars, could the editor of *The Times* persuade them, contrary to their own senses, that they were paid in sixpences, or in lead?"

This I think requires some comment, and which will be found in a preceding page.

A little further on, in his speech, it is observed by Mr. B.

"What he maintained was, that a free mariner did not, by quitting his profession, forfeit his license. Did a merchant, by quitting one branch of trade for another, forfeit it? Did an indigo planter, if he adopted another branch of trade, forfeit it? and was he, upon quitting his particular occupations, to remain no longer in India?"

There is every distinction between the free merchant and the free mariner; although in some instances, from the respectability and worth of the parties, the Government, with their usual indulg-

ent conduct, have unwarily lost sight of the original intention of the Legislature, who have expressly mentioned the two classes as separate bodies. Why, I would ask, are the distinctive terms used, and in the license granted expressly written, "Free Mariner," or "Free Merchant?" Were there no distinction intended, it would be absurd to use different terms. The free mariner is licensed to sail from port to port, in what are called country vessels; the free merchant is a resident there, domiciled as an indigo planter, a factor, or merchant; he still pursues mercantile employment on shore. If he is a cultivator of the soil in planting indigo, he is likewise a merchant in selling his produce; but the free mariner is the seaman who is supposed to go out for the sole and stipulated purpose of pursuing his maritime life.

We may ask, why is greater interest required to procure the merchant's license? why are the fees greater? and why is the appellation of "free merchant" considered more respectable than that of the "free mariner?" Simply because one is considered as the mere mate of a ship—a man of no consequence; and the other as the merchant, well known, possessing respectable connexions, and opulent. This will be *another* lesson to the home administration, not to allow their regulations and laws, as sanctioned by the legislature of the country, to be infracted. They must not think

of temporizing with their subjects, whether black or white, or they will find those they nourish will sting them. If they wish India to be *free*, according to the *literal* meaning of the term, of course break down every barrier by which our dominion has so long been secured, and so properly maintained.

Had Mr. B. settled on shore as a merchant or trader, the Government would not have interfered; but there is an immeasurable distance between the mate of a ship, who makes his bow to the captain on deck, and a talented, and ambitious politician, who sits himself down in Calcutta, and derides the Government. The sophistry that has been made use of may pass current with a few; but I am not quite so dull or ignorant of the subject, as not to look at motives and actions, instead of problems and suppositions.

The next point that calls for animadversion is the statement which alludes to the very improper strictures regarding the Government of Madras. Mr. B. says,

"On the occasion alluded to, he did certainly express his regret that he was *ignorant* of the *existence* of the regulations which were then quoted. The common sense of the country at *the time* was, that there was no reservation after what Lord Hastings had already done, and that the press was free."

Stop a little; let us look at dates, and I think we shall find some error in the foregoing paragraph.

Lord Hastings's circular to the editors of the newspapers is dated "Council Chamber, August 12, 1818," and the libel complained of on the Government of Madras* took place on the 26th March 1819; (the circular notification to *all* editors, and the *first* warning to Mr. B., will be found in another part;) but how the "common sense of the country could think there was no reservation," is to me marvellous: yet, allowing the "common sense" to have dwindled into ignorance, and the former possessors of that rare quality to have taken a dip in the waters of Lethe, the circular *must* have been, as a record, in the possession of the editors.

"The Governor General in Council has perceived with regret the little impression made on you by the indulgence you have already experienced! and I am directed to warn you of the *certain consequence* of your *again* incurring the displeasure of the Government. In the present instance, his Lordship in Council contents himself with requiring, that a distinct acknowledgment of the impropriety of your conduct, and a full and sufficient apology to the Government of Fort St. George, for the injurious insinuations inserted in your paper of *yesterday*, with regard to the conduct of that Government, be published in the Calcutta Journal."

We here see that this was a *second* warning upon the *same* subject.

* To show that the same spirit of hostility which existed at Calcutta had extended its baneful influence to Madras, the subjoined extract will serve:—

"*We have received* a black-edged paper, announcing the appointment of Mr. Elliott to the Government of *Madras* for three years longer; the appointment is considered as a public calamity."

The next observation is short, and the comment on it is equally so.

"Now if he had a right to fetter the press without the aid of the Council, he had the power, on the delivery of his speech, so often quoted, to take off these restrictions, which he avowed ought not to remain. If the council thought he had no such power without their co-operation, they ought to have protested against it."

The Council, one and all, did protest against it; and I dare say it may be verified by inspecting the minutes of Council at the India House.

Another singular instance of inconsistency is found in the annexed.

"The letter signed *Æmulus* had been also talked of. It complained, that in the Indian army merit was nothing, and interest every thing. He declared at the time that the opinion was unfounded, and on the day following the publication of that letter, he wrote a long article to show that the imputation was not true, so that at the same moment Lord Hastings saw the charge, he also saw the refutation."

If Mr. B. knew that the imputation was not true, what right had he, in justice, to insert it at all? Was it for the sake of filling his paper by the attack, and by his own long reply on the following day, or was it for the sake of administering to the discontent, and exciting still further the vituperation and erroneous statements of his correspondents? By this means men's minds were agitated, and their feelings angered; the more it

was done, the greater was the circulation and profits of the Calcutta Journal: in that alone we discover the philanthropy and philosophy! In the first case, it was an act of folly; in the latter, it bore a different character.

Strange as it must appear, I suffered in the opinion of one or two of my friends by the publication of this precious document. It was known at that time I had experienced some little disappointments, and the anonymous epistle was laid to my door, of which I was as innocent as the child unborn. In the first place, I could not write so well; and, secondly, had I wished to have complained, I should have addressed myself direct to the Government, with my name affixed to my complaint, or request, whichever it might have been.

We now come to another passage in Mr. B.'s speech at the India House; that which refers to his attack on the late Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Middleton.

"Mr. Buckingham here read the rules of 1818, and proceeded to observe, it was very true that the Lord Bishop of Calcutta was mentioned in them, and he admitted that the publication of the letter was indiscreet."

As the speaker here admits the *indiscretion* of the attack on his Lordship, it will be unnecessary to report the contents of the letter. It is seldom that Mr. B. admits his indiscretion, and when he

does, what a misnomer occurs. Indiscreet, indeed!—so would say the military officer who is brought to a court-martial for a known breach of his duty, and is dismissed the service *without any warning* or previous admonitions; so would say the buxom country wench who finds the frailty of her nature get the better of her understanding—"I have not acted discreetly." But what say the parish beadles to the said indiscretion? But to be serious; it will scarcely be credited that the charge against the Lord Bishop was actually made after Mr. B. had written to the Government as follows:

"The marked indulgence which his Lordship in Council is pleased to extend towards me, in remitting on *this* occasion the exercise of the powers *vested in him by law*, will operate as an additional incentive to my future observance of the spirit of the instructions issued *before* the commencement of the Calcutta Journal, to the editors of the public prints of India, in Aug. 1818, of which I am now *fully informed*, and which I shall *henceforth make my guide*."

Who can possibly advocate Mr. B.'s political conduct after they have seen him acting in opposition to this full, free, and general admission of his errors, and his promise of future amendment? To his attack on the Bishop of Calcutta might be added the two distinct attacks on the Governor of Madras; for notwithstanding the above confession and promise, he renewed his hostility to Mr. Elliott. The official records belonging to this part of our

subject will be found as we proceed in analyzing the public speech of Mr. B.

Let Messrs. Lambton, Hume, and Kinnaird dispassionately look at these documents, at the various statements in the Calcutta Journal, at the reiterated warnings, at the promises of amendment, and the breaches of the same, and then say if they can help conscientiously admitting that Mr. B. has brought his misfortunes on himself with his eyes open, and that he could not expect, nor did deserve, to be treated otherwise. At the same time, let me request them, in reading my faithful *observations* on the State of Society in India, to put it dispassionately to their judgment whether a free press can be compatible with the safety of our Eastern dominions: I have a great respect for these gentlemen; they are honourable, disinterested, and able public men.

To Mr. Buckingham I cannot have a shadow of hostility, (notwithstanding his undeserved attack,) and I trust it will not be imputed to me. I have been introduced to him,* have written to him, have dined in his company, and have

* The place of introduction was somewhat singular, the top of the lighthouse at Colaba, adjoining Bombay, where I was employing myself in taking some heights, bearings, and distances: this was in 1817. Mr. B. was then dressed in the Arab costume, and at that time he was the commander of a trading vessel; he was accompanied by Mr. Woodhouse, afterwards Advocate General at Bombay, who introduced me to Mr. B.

ever heard he was a most respectable individual, and amiable in private life; but it is as a public man, a public journalist, and as a politician, the self-nominated champion of fictitious wrongs, of assumed grievances, and the advocate of strange and dangerous doctrines, that I speak of him. No man can possibly more sincerely lament the losses Mr. B. has sustained, and the destruction of his property, than I do; but I will once more repeat, that Mr. B. has only to thank himself; that he brought the evils on his own head; and, lastly, that, had the Government been an assemblage of angels and saints, they had no course left them but that which they adopted.

The next extract is rather long: it would be unjust towards Mr. B. to cull particular passages; and as much misconception exists regarding the contemporary publication, the John Bull, we will give his remarks on the subject in question nearly entire.

"The John Bull teemed with libels, as had been proved before the Supreme Court of Judicature. *That* paper might be said to have *faced every thing* for the sake of *profit*; but it could not succeed. If he were indeed a libeller, let the record be produced which affixed the imputation upon him; but it was notorious, that though paragraphs were selected from his journal, and laid before the Advocate General, the Bengal Government were *unable to obtain a single verdict.* A distinction had been attempted to be drawn, in stating that Government did not circulate the prospectus (of the John Bull), but that it was the agents who sent them out. He could put down this distinction at once, for he was ready to

prove that the Government, through Mr. Secretary Lushington, ordered the post-offices to send the prospectuses free, and this was admitted to him, with the rejoinder, 'and did we not send yours in the like manner?' It was true enough, as Sir John Malcolm had said, *his* papers and prospectuses went for *twelve months after*; but there was a distinction between the two cases, which could not be overlooked—there were no politics in his prospectus; not so in that of the John Bull, for that set out with the avowal of being intended to put down the 'guilty profit' of the Calcutta Journal. He had asked the Government leave to reply, through the same channels, to this prospectus which attacked him; but was refused. Here, then, was a specific charge against the Government, of having given this undue support in the manner he had mentioned. He now wished to call the attention of Mr. Trant to the custom of marking at the post-offices, in Persian characters, at the back, the name of any person bringing a letter addressed to a newspaper. His letters were so marked, although he often did not know the writers. A gentleman, an officer in Kerman, a stranger to him, wrote that he had seen a letter from Mr. Secretary Lushington, promoting one civil servant above another; adding in a postscript, 'you are expected to take the John Bull newspaper.' The writer of the letter to him (Mr. B.) mentioned in a postscript, that his prospects in life would be affected if he divulged his name. He had subsequently ascertained that he was a captain in the army, and he declared, on his honour, that the statement which he transmitted was true. It was quite clear, therefore, that the Government in India countenanced and circulated the John Bull newspaper."

Whether or not the John Bull teemed with libels, is doubtful; but if it did, they were libels on Mr. B. alone, and not, as his charges were, against the members of the Government, or against their official acts. In this case the evil was confined to Mr. B. alone, and he had a remedy at

hand; in fact he made use of it, and gained by it a verdict for 1,000 rupees. Here it must be observed, that the John Bull was established in self-defence, and its attacks were in reply, and solely directed against the sentiments and mis-statements which appeared in the Calcutta Journal. They were not the aggressors, but the repellants. In short, it was the skirmishing of two rival newspapers; one did a great deal of mischief, regardless of reproof and admonition; the other endeavoured to check the evil by the causticity of its retorts; as to scurrility and invective, there was nothing lost on either side, Mr. B. terming his rival the "infamous John Bull," &c. &c. and his own paper (with, as he observes, the unassuming name of *Journal*) he modestly called "the paper of the public." It was an acknowledged axiom of his, "That those who are not with us are against us." As to the conductors of the John Bull, they only upheld the public authorities, the conduct of the Government, and our own glorious constitution at home; what course the "Journal" pursued is pretty well known, and I believe *now* beginning to be duly appreciated. It will be seen that *I am not* inclined to censure the Bull.

Persons high in office found themselves constantly assailed; the measures of the administration were not only scoffed at, but brought into derision and obloquy. The Bull's endeavours were to counteract the unhappy and dangerous impres-

sions left on the minds of the Europeans and natives by its older and more powerful rival. Such things are done in England, and we hear nothing, and care nothing, about them. In India political disquisition, or an exposé of dangerous doctrines, was productive of the most mischievous effects both to the Government and society; but with regard to the two newspapers in question we confound the subject, and an outcry is raised, and an undue importance is attached to what in reality was no more than the rivalry and party squabbling of two public journalists.

I have no hesitation in denying the charge, that any of the members of the Government, or the higher functionaries of the State, wrote a line, or gave any assistance to the Bull. True it is, that one or two of the *junior* civil servants did; at least, so it was generally understood: but even allowing that they did, where was the impropriety of one or two young men repelling the charges and insinuations brought against them? Mr. B. cannot forget, among the many personal letters which appeared in his Journal, those relating to the six secretaries, by Sam Sobersides, the Kendal Greenmen, &c. Indeed, I see no reason for animadverting with any severity on the conduct of these young civil servants in their honourable endeavours to uphold, by their writings, the legal acts of the Administration. I see nothing wrong in this; though it perhaps might have been as

well that the task should have fallen to others: but as many of the attacks were indirectly aimed at their official character, while their own public conduct was misrepresented, and themselves characterized by various epithets, self-defence impelled them to retaliate; and for this, forsooth, they are to be reprobated as dangerous libellers, while their opponent is to be lauded to the skies as a patriot!

It has been said that Mr. Adam and Mr. Bailey wrote in the John Bull,—nothing can be further from the truth. Mr. Adam has declared he did not write in it; and, although for doing that which the Marquis of Hastings repeatedly threatened to do, he has been likened to a tyrant, I believe him to be as incapable of playing the tyrant, as he is of forfeiting his word, or acting derogatory to his station. A milder and more inoffensive man than Mr. Adam does not exist. Mr. Bailey I know well; and he discountenanced the efforts of the young men to whom I have alluded. Mr. Bailey is one of the best of men—frank, generous, and honourable; in manners, the complete English gentleman; incapable of doing an injury, and too wise and experienced to commit himself in his office. His *misfortune*, like Mr. Adam's, is to fill a high and arduous situation, and they have each the further misfortune to have fearlessly and zealously discharged the duties of it; but these and other worthy men are to be condemned at the fiat of a political writer, a stranger, and an in-

truder. Important services of a score of years, irreproachable character, great knowledge, and talents, are to be held in no estimation; all is to be swept away at the nod of political adventurers; and the beautiful fabric which we have, by our courage, wisdom, and humanity, raised in the East, is to be shaken to its foundation, by half a dozen factious and disappointed persons.

In the long extract which I have quoted in a preceding page, the speaker triumphantly exclaims, "the Bengal government were unable to obtain a single verdict!" Whither so fast?—recollect the old adage: "The more haste, the worse speed."

A true bill was found by the grand jury, but the petit jury gave a different return. Even in this matter, Mr. B. greatly compromised himself as a public writer, by circulating some printed papers concerning the grand jury, and endeavouring to bias the petit jury by applying to their passions and interests. Nor could he have had a better soil to work on; for the petit jury was composed of men *situated* precisely *like himself*, who, from living under certain restrictions, as free-settlers, or perhaps deserters, would, it may be supposed, from the knowledge we have of human nature, look upon *his* case as their *own*, and to which, indeed, they had been materially influenced by his printed address. He was, according to Mr. Hume, a "champion," and his journal he had

dubbed the "paper of the public." I will fearlessly ask any unprejudiced man, whether this jury, composed as it was, and so totally different from a jury in England, ought to have been thus appealed to? As this is a part of the business that Mr. Randle Jackson, as a lawyer, must of necessity be better acquainted with than I am, I will give his refutation on that specific occasion.

"A true bill for a libel was found against Mr. Buckingham by the grand jury. It was for a libel on the six secretaries, contained in a letter signed "*Sam Sobersides.*" The petit jury, however, subsequently came to a different conclusion respecting that publication. But between the finding of the bill by the grand jury, and the trial of the indictment by the petit jury, Mr. Buckingham did that which in this country was considered a very high offence: he circulated papers that were disparaging to the grand jury who had found the bill, and which were calculated to influence the petit jury in their verdict. The consequence was, that the Advocate-General there, as the Attorney-General would have done here, moved for a criminal information against Mr. Buckingham. It had been asserted, that this information was refused; but that was not the case. The information was granted, and would have been tried, but for a reason which he should state, in direct contradiction to what had been alleged on the other side. It had been said, that the moment Mr. Adam came into power, the information, which had been previously abandoned, was revived by him. The truth, however, was this: the information was granted, and about to be tried, when, in consequence of one of the judges proceeding to England, and another going to Madras, there was but a single judge left, and he refused to try it single-handed. Frequently in our own Courts, when a judge was asked to take a particular case for argument, he would say, 'No; this is an important question, let it stand over till the Court is full.' Sir F. Macnaughten acted thus. Sir H. Blosset, however, ar-

rived at Calcutta, and then the Advocate-General, as a matter of course, moved that the information should be tried. Sir H. Blosset soon after died; and Sir F. Macnaughten again declined to try the cause."

In addition to this, I have to observe that Mr. B. was forgiven once, apologized another time, and in two other instances gave up his anonymous correspondents; one of whom we have seen by consequences connected therewith, was brought to a court-martial and found guilty. Here are five instances in reply to the vain boast of "no warnings have been given," a boast that has done Mr. B. but little credit, for it shows the censurable forbearance of the Government, and the ungrateful return he made for their indulgences and frequent admonitions. We will take the remainder of the paragraph generally, and merely remark, that the same favour was shown to the *Journal* as to the *Bull*. I saw both papers daily, and could never find out any distinction that the Government made, in order to injure the former, or promote the latter.

As to the captain of the army who gave the intelligence from Kerman, it says but little for his head and heart to give intelligence against the interests of the Government, which he was afraid to acknowledge, to one who stood censured, and was their avowed opponent. So much for the man who "eats the salt," and defames in secret. Mr. B. says, "the officer declared on his honour, what

he stated was true." For the credit of the cloth I hope so; and only hope, by this time, his zeal in the cause of the "PUBLIC" has been gratified by an exposure of recent transactions, to which he in some measure has become a party.

One word about Mr. Secretary Lushington's request—"You are expected to take the John Bull newspaper." This is the first time I have heard such an assertion; and from my knowledge of Mr. Lushington's reserved manners, independent conduct, and strictly honourable sentiments as a public officer, I believe him most unlikely to do any thing of the kind.

All that I can, however, specifically say in reply to this is, that during the time mentioned, I was at a station where constant changes and appointments were taking place, both civil and military; for the Nagpore rajah's auxiliaries, collectors, judges, &c. &c. were at that time just established. Four *John Bulls* were taken in, but I there heard nothing of Mr. Secretary Lushington's *intimation*. I may further add, that during this period I visited and remained some days at the cities of Benares and Moorshedobad, at Berhampoor, Cuttack, Patna, Midnapore, and Mirzapore, all large towns, with considerable societies formed by civil and military officers, and yet I never had an opportunity of being able to confirm the assertion made by the "Captain at Kerman." I think if at those stations and cities such had been the case, I should

have known it, it being very seldom that I closed my ears with cotton, or my eyes till sleep shut them up.

I have replied to that part of Mr. B.'s defence, where he says, "no verdict was ever brought in against him." As this is a material feature in the business, it is as well to observe, that when the Court was full, the information was moved by the Advocate-General, and was about being tried, when death stepped in, and again left the Supreme Court with only one judge, viz. Sir F. Macnaughten. Judge Buller was doing duty at Bombay. Among the numerous official persons in Bengal who have been so profusely and unremittingly accused of injustice, malice, and tyranny towards Mr. B., it is hard that two high judicial characters, like Mr. Chief Justice Blosset, and Mr. Advocate-General Spankie, should be actuated by the same feelings so *shortly* after their arrival at Calcutta.

There must be something very pestilential and contagious in the atmosphere of India, that men can so soon lose the best feelings of their nature; for the moment they step on shore from the boat at *Chand Pal Ghat*, it seems that a sudden transition from good to bad takes place. I suppose the free-settlers, deserters, and others not in the service of the State, remain the same virtuous and noble characters as when they left the white shores of Albion. Lord Amherst, if we give cre-

dit to the stories already in circulation, has suffered the same transformation, and is now become a tiger. It would, however, appear that the *physical* and *moral* change worked of late years by the Indian climate, is not alone confined to Europeans, for in a long *original* article, of course from India, in the Globe and Traveller of the 19th July, it is said :—

"In one word, then, there is no such thing as a good field engineer in the Bengal establishment; the artillery are much dissatisfied and discouraged; the cavalry are smart troops, but *disregard their officers;* the infantry have scarcely any officers to disregard, but, if well commanded, would to a *certain* point make *tolerable* soldiers; *but they have no morale—no stamina; the men who* NOW *fill our ranks are* VASTLY *inferior to the sepoys of* 1799 *and* 1804.*"

Of course I and other old Indians are not expected to give implicit credence to this libel, for it happens that we know it is not the fact, and can give a shrewd guess at what "forge the iron was hammered out." I have heard of such things as persons purchasing a share in a paper, and writing letters to themselves; in short, I have further heard that letters, dated at some distant place, are very often written in London. Not being perfectly initiated into the mystery, I of

* *Vide* Appendix, No. 1.

course do not know what to say to this; but after the specimen I have extracted, I shall have great doubts as to the authenticity or accuracy of Indian intelligence from that paper. The very article I have extracted appeared also in the Oriental Herald; most injudiciously, I think, for the advantage of the editor.

A mis-statement of this kind on the *whole* Bengal army cannot escape animadversion, and will certainly incense those civil and military friends of Mr. B. who, in the early part of his career, gave him an extensive patronage, and in fact supported his *then* excellent and respectable Calcutta Journal. Such unfounded charges are most ungrateful, and are truly undeserved; but the effect of this will be to alienate those who might still have felt for Mr. B.'s situation. I took in the Calcutta Journal for nearly two years, at an annual expense of about £36, and should hardly have supposed that the editor of it would have published such unjustifiable and erroneous statements against his early patrons. In truth, the very document in question has been one of the chief causes of my writing this exposé; and I know persons who have withdrawn themselves from supporting the Oriental Herald, in consequence of this and other attacks brought against our absent brethren in India.

The precious morceau alluded to I shall give

entire in the Appendix; and the officers, whether civil or military, may judge for themselves. I never read any thing that so much excited my displeasure, or provoked my feelings, as this letter, *said* to be from Calcutta.

Mr. B. says, that

"He neither broke any regulation, nor disregarded any warning he had received. He asked, what warning had he set aside? when and where was it specified?"

I answer this by referring to the attack made on the Government of Madras. The letter which was written to Mr. B. on that particular point will be found in noticing Mr. Lambton's speech. To that letter of admonition, Mr. B. replied as follows:—

"To W. B. Bayley, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, expressing the displeasure of the Governor General in Council at the publication of certain paragraphs in the Calcutta Journal of the 26th ultimo, reflecting on the character of Mr. Elliott in his public capacity as Governor of Madras.

"I shall not presume to intrude on the notice of his Lordship in Council any observations tending to the extenuation of my conduct in this or in any previous instance, as departing from the spirit of the instructions issued to the editors of the public journals in India at the period they were exempted from the necessity of previously submitting their publications to the revision of the Secretary to Government.

"I shall rather confine myself to observing, that I sincerely regret my having given cause to his Lordship in Council to ex-

press his displeasure, and the more so, as there is not an individual among the numerous subjects under his benign government, who is more sensible than myself of the unprecedented liberality which has marked his Lordship's administration in general, and the immense obligation which all the friends of the press owe to the measure of the revised regulations in particular.

"The very marked indulgence which his Lordship in Council is pleased to exercise towards me, in remitting on this occasion the exercise of the powers vested in him by law, will operate as an additional incentive to my future observance of the spirit of the instructions issued, before the commencement of the Calcutta Journal, to the editors of the public prints in India, in August 1818, of which I am now fully informed, and which I shall henceforth make my guide.

"I am, &c.

"J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

"*Calcutta, June* 22, 1819."

It will be seen that the warning had been received and acknowledged by Mr. B. It will scarcely be credited, after the positive assertion contained in the extract given from Mr. B.'s speech, that but a few months had elapsed from the warning and the apology before the attack on the Governor of Madras was renewed, and a second intimation given, as before mentioned. I cannot conceive how it was possible for Mr. B. to give utterance to such a downright negative as that which I have extracted. The business is so clear to me, and must be to all impartial men, that further multiplying extracts of these warnings and admonitions is quite needless.

The strongest of all the remonstrances issued

by the Government is the Marquis of Hastings' letter, given in a former page, and signed by Mr. C. Lushington; it will show that no means were left untried to bring Mr. B. to a sense of his duty to the Government.

At this time Mr. Adam was a member of the Council; so that it will be clear that the intentions of the Government were promulgated, and their determination of removing Mr. B. from India was known long before Mr. Adam came to be Governor-General. In justice to Mr. Adam, it is necessary to clearly point this out; for, from the insinuations made, and the reproaches cast upon him, a person unacquainted with the real state of the business would be led to believe that the affair solely originated with Mr. Adam, and that he, and he alone, commenced and finished the licensing of the press, the transmission of Mr. B. and the final suppression of the Calcutta Journal. The first originated with Lord Hastings; the second with Mr. Adam, in conjunction with the Commander-in-Chief, and the other members of the Supreme Council, and the latter was the act of Lord Amherst.

As I wish to stand acquitted in the eyes of my countrymen of partiality, and not to have my judgment questioned by electing the acts of the foreign administration only, at this part of our subject we will introduce a public letter from the

Court of Directors, approving of the conduct of Mr. Adam and his colleagues.

"*Public Department, 30th July,* 1823."

"Our Governor-General in Council at Fort-William, in Bengal.

"Para. 1. We have received your dispatches in the General Department, dated the 15th and 28th February last.

"2. In the first of these dispatches you acquaint us, that Mr. James S. Buckingham having, in the judgment of the Governor-General in Council, forfeited his claim to the countenance and protection of the Supreme Government, you had declared his license to reside in India to be void, from and after the 15th April last.

"3. We take the earliest opportunity of conveying to you our decided approbation of this proceeding: considering the offensive and mischievous character of many of the articles which have appeared for some years past in the journal of which Mr. Buckingham was the editor, the frequent admonitions and warnings which he has received, and his obstinacy, notwithstanding the forbearance that has been extended to him, in persisting in a course which had on many occasions drawn upon him the displeasure of Government, we think you fully justified in revoking his license. We feel, at the same time, no hesitation in assuring you of our most strenuous and cordial support in whatever legal measures you may adopt in the exercise of your discretion, for the purpose of restraining the licentiousness of the press in India, from which, if unchecked, the most dangerous consequences are to be apprehended."

Probably the 24 East India Directors are, as well as the Government abroad, and all the respectable names I have mentioned, collectively

and individually wrong,—all wrong,—all in the dark, and their opponents the only persons who understand the interests of India, and are fit to manage them; or, in other words, the great number of eminent persons I have mentioned are, to a man, tyrants in their nature, and fools in their understanding, and that their adversaries are, in nature, angels, each possessing the wisdom of a Solomon. Such is the effect of party feeling, and such has been the result of the indulgence and forbearance of the Supreme Government. They have dearly purchased a lesson, and the effects of it, 'tis to be hoped, will teach us to rule India as conquerors, blending every act of firmness with that degree of humanity, which, while it conciliates, is not sufficiently temporizing or weak to shake our rule in our widely extended dominions in the East.

Every good man, every lover of his country, ought to raise his voice at the present moment. Every means are in employ to create dissatisfaction and give excitement to the minds of our European and native subjects abroad, with the still further object of forming a strong party at home. In short, I much doubt whether the Government would not be justified in prohibiting the importation of all violent and inflammatory writings into our settlements in British India. I have no hesitation in saying, that the debates which are threatened to take place at the India House

shortly, must tend to the same object; but I hope and believe the honourable and disinterested portion of the British press will see the traps set for them, and avoid being *made a channel* of communication for deceptive and inflammatory speeches. They, with great good sense and independence, rejected any communication on the late discussions at the India House. (*Vide* Times* and Morning Chronicle.)

Knowing full well how things have been going on, and are *still progressing*, it becomes a sacred duty in me, as a servant of the state, and a defender of its soil, to rear my feeble voice in behalf of the Government, and in behalf of a country that I am bound by every moral tie to support and aid; and may that day be my last when I forget or neglect the interests of my king and country!

Mr. B. observes, towards the conclusion of his speech:—

"Did a disquisition upon Dr. Bryce come within the interdict prohibiting a disquisition upon the Bishop of Calcutta? Where, then, was the offence? The rules were in no respect infringed upon."

The speaker and his partisans cannot resist dating the misfortunes of the Calcutta Journal to

* The Times observed, "To Correspondents.—We have received a terribly long letter from Mr. Buckingham; he must bestow his favours elsewhere."

the solitary attack on Dr. Bryce. It was nothing of the kind; and the reader must perceive, in going through the facts and authorities I have adduced, that this was but one of a series of unprovoked attacks, not so much on the individual, as on the public authorities who employed him. We are all at fault, it would appear, on this charge; for Mr. B. now states, that the Calcutta Journal was suppressed on account of an exposure which it gave to the importation of slaves at Calcutta. Mr. B. knows, as well as I, that the slave trade is not allowed, and that the ship and cargo would be seized and condemned; and that but a short time ago an Arab vessel was brought into Bombay, and underwent condemnation according to law. Mr. B. pays a poor compliment to the officers of his Majesty's navy, in supposing that *they* are not on the alert; probably they may be leagued with Messrs. Adam and Bailey against the rights of mankind. The statement about the slave transaction, as usual, appeared in the *Globe and Traveller* evening paper. I doubt much whether a relation like this, so glaringly absurd and unfounded, will not even be detrimental to Mr. B., as it will have the effect of opening the eyes of his friends and coadjutors.

I have looked carefully through Mr. Buckingham's speech, under the impression that I might find something like a justification of his political conduct, and some rational arguments in favour

of a free press in India; and I declare, positively, that I have only met with observations which prove his determined hostility to the present system of Government, and show that what he was not allowed to effect in India, he will strive hard to accomplish in England. Such, at least, is the view I have taken of these proceedings; and I think the following declaration, with which he closed his speech, will, without going further into the subject, warrant me in coming to such a conclusion.

"He had, at least, the quality of perseverance, and he promised them that this was the commencement of a *series of discussions*, which would be carried on here until justice was done to him; nor would his sacrifice, should it be accomplished, end the inquiry, for there were others who would make those answer who had inflicted the wrong. While he had life, health, and strength, he would defend the interests, and watch over the happiness of the natives of India; and, as he was not allowed to whisper truths in India for their welfare, they should hear them uttered in thunders within the walls of that Court, for the information of England and of the world."

It may possibly be said, that my apprehensions for the fate of the British power in India carry me too far, and cause me to judge too harshly of the advocates of a free press; but, if it be so, let it be borne in mind, that my opinions are formed from what I have observed during many years' experience in India; and the information I have obtained, with respect to the sentiments and dispositions of different classes of the natives, by

a more than ordinary intercourse with them. Knowing, therefore, that what I advance is true, and feeling a lively interest in the momentous question, I have ventured to express my honest opinion, on a subject of such vital importance to my country, with zeal and fidelity.

CHAPTER XII.

"We may venture to exult on the favourable prospects which they hold forth of peace, and we trust security to our Asiatic possessions while they are managed with such wisdom at home, and supported with such spirit by their able and active defenders at the respective scenes of action."

SUN NEWSPAPER.

FROM the clamour raised, and the incessant appeals made to the British nation, persons unacquainted with India would almost be led to believe, that the British administration in our Oriental possessions was a curse instead of being a real blessing; that it was of the most arbitrary and unjust kind; and that the very existence of the East India Company was a burthen and disgrace to the mother country. Every possible means is sedulously pursued to cause this impression on the public mind, than which nothing can be more unfounded and ungenerous. To descant upon the liberal and humane rule in India would be an interminable task, as would be the showing of the vast benefits derived by Great Britain from her Eastern dominions. I will give an instance of some little weight to my argument as relates to this country.

"In the year 1794, when the horrors of impending famine aggravated the miseries of war, the Secret Committee of the Court

of Directors, at the recommendation of his Majesty's ministers, transmitted by express to Lord Teignmouth, Governor-General of India, intelligence of the calamity that threatened Great Britain, desiring whatever aid the Government of India could supply. On receipt of the despatch, the Governor-General, with that promptitude and energy which distinguished his administration, exerted the influence of Government with such effect, that 14,000 tons of shipping, almost entirely India built, were freighted to carry rice to England, and were loaded and cleared from the port of Calcutta in less than five months from the date of the arrival of the letter. This supply, with the exception of the casualties of the sea, arrived most opportunely for the relief of the poor of London, and reduced the price of that excellent article of food to three-half pence a pound. So extraordinary an exertion is neither so widely known, nor so justly appreciated, as it merits. It is a circumstance which reflects the highest credit on all the parties concerned, and deserves to be recorded in order to declare to posterity the vast resources of Great Britain, which was enabled to draw seasonable supplies of provision for the relief of the metropolis from colonies situated at the distance of nearly two-thirds of the equatorial circumference of the globe.

"A similar instance occurred afterwards at the commencement of the present century."

Asiatic Journal, September, 1824.

The following vessels have been built at Bombay by the local government, by *native* workmen, for the service of his Majesty's navy.

		Guns.	Tons.	Built.
Pitt	Frigate	36	872	1805
Salsette	Do.	36	885	1807
Minden	Ship	74	1681	1810
Cornwallis	Do.	74	1767	1813
Wellesley	Do.	74	1745	1815
Amphitrite	Frigate	38	1064	1816
Sphynx	Brigant.	12	239	1815

Cameleon	Brigantine	10	239	1816
Victor	Brig	18	384	1814
Zebra	Do.	18	385	1815
Melville	Ship	74	1767	1817
Trincomalee	Do.	31	1065	1817
Malabar	Do.	74	1715	1818
Seringapatam	Frigate	38	1152	1819
Ganges	Ship	84	2284	1821
Madagascar	Frigate	46	1166	1822
Asia	Ship	84	2289	1824*
		Total, 821	Total, 20699	

I submit the following instance to *prove* the beneficence of the British authorities, of which I was an eye-witness.

In 1806-7, a dreadful famine raged at Madras,

* It is not unworthy of remark, nor undeserving of the attention of the Lords of the Admiralty, that several vessels built in India are *still* seaworthy, and constantly sea-going ships at nearly forty years old. The Milford, of 650 tons, was built in 1786. The Cornwallis (lately arrived in England) of 650 tons, was built in 1790. The Lawgée Family, of 900 tons, was built in 1791. The tonnage of the British navy is estimated at 450,000; the expense of building nearly double what it is in India; and the durability of English ships is only calculated at fourteen years in peace, and in war-time at ten years. The annual expense for keeping them in repair is about 1,500,000*l.* The whole British navy, with their equipments, is calculated about 18,000,000*l.* How important it is, with this enormous expenditure of money, to use the cheapest and most durable wood. It would be cruel and impolitic to deprive British artificers and labourers of employment, but it is necessary and politic to get teak from India. We must have some "Canadian rafts," an Oriental leviathan or two, to bring home 4000 or 5000 tons of timber at one voyage.

and the neighbouring provinces. People were perishing daily; the awful spectacle is still in my eye. Children dead in the arms of their dying mothers—emaciated wretches crawling towards the public granaries, to pick up a few scattered grains—children of the same parents striving with each other, in the last stage of famine, to obtain a few extra grains—the parent, with an emaciated frame, fast approaching to dissolution, endeavouring to encourage the hopes of its offspring—are recollections that nothing can efface from my mind. Rich natives, at this time, by forestalling and purchasing immense quantities of grain, increased the calamity. An unprincipled rich man has the same dangerous power, and is the same monster, in all countries. The fiend avarice is as active in times of public distress in Asia as in Europe. Happily the influence of the supreme government at Calcutta was almost instantly felt. Very large quantities of grain were despatched, at the *market price*, to the lower provinces of Bengal, while all that was in store was instantly sent off in country ships hired for the purpose, and a large bounty was offered; nor was even the expense incurred by the freight added to the price of the grain. All classes at Calcutta manifesting the same charitable disposition, the efforts made by the aid of a large subscription were almost incredible. Ships were so deeply laden, that it was with difficulty they proceeded down the river.

All kinds of carriages were put in requisition to transport part of the cargoes by land, to meet or wait the ship's arrival. The anxiety of Lord Wellesley was so intense, that no obstacles or other claims were allowed to interfere. During these days thousands of strangers poured into the Company's territories from their own countries, knowing full well that they would *meet with relief*, and a better chance of *preserving life* than under their *own* governments, where *extortion*, *monopoly*, and *injustice* were added to the miseries of famine.

A famine of *this* year at Madras again shows the conduct of the government in the most amiable light.

"*Public Department.*

"*Fort St. George, 9th January*, 1824.

"The Honourable the Governor in Council being desirous of affording further encouragement to the importation of rice at this presidency, in consequence of a failure of the rains of the late Monsoon,—notice is hereby given, that a bounty of thirty Madras rupees, per Madras Garce, will be paid on all rice (of the description of large rice of good quality) that may be imported at Fort St. George, from the territories subject to the Government of Bengal, as from the provinces of Malabar and Canara, from the 10th February to the 7th June next.

"The bounty will be paid on demand at the General Treasury in Fort St. George, on the production of a certificate from the Collector of the Customs, specifying the quantity which the importer or party applying is entitled to claim payment for.

"Published by order of the Honourable the Governor in Council.

"E. Wood, *Sec. to Government.*"

A few years ago the East India Company lent to government 3,000,000*l.* of money. During the last war, some Indiamen were fitted out as men of war, and went to sea as such.

Two thousand men are kept embodied, well equipped and disciplined; these are formed from the Company's clerks and labourers, &c. at the India House.

Charities, colleges, schools, and other public institutions, are very numerous in India, often founded by the government, and always liberally supported. One of a recent foundation I shall only allude to, to carry conviction to the minds of those who are fond of calumniating our foreign governments, and deceiving their countrymen by perverted or fictitious statements.

	Rupees.
2 Grammar Pundits at 60 rupees - - -	120
2 Assistants do. at 40 do. - - -	80
1 Poetry - - - - - -	60
1 Rhetoric - - - - -	60
1 Arithmetic - - - - -	60
1 Upper Grammar - - - -	60
2 Law ditto at 60 rupees - - - -	120
1 Logic - - - - - -	60
1 Algebra and Astronomy - - -	60
1 Purana - - - - -	60
1 Sanchya - - - - -	60
1 Vedanta - - - - -	60
1 Vaidyaca (hereafter) - - - -	60
1 Librarian - - - - -	60
Carry forward, - - -	980

	Rupees.
Brought forward, - - - -	980
2 Correctors of MSS. at 40 rupees - -	80
1 Accountant and Writer - - - -	40
Durwan and Furrashes, &c. - - -	40
Total, -	2140

Making a monthly establishment of nearly 150*l.*

Every thing that can be safely done to ameliorate the condition of the natives of India is done; but we must not go too fast; much must be left to time, or, instead of producing good, we shall only temporarily cure evils, the certain result of which will be a dreadful reaction, not only annihilatory of our power, but, by the certain re-establishment of the accursed Mahomedan rule, for ever destructive to the happiness and prosperity of the Hindoos.

Persons who censure the government are often utterly ignorant of the state of society in that country; and think that what will answer for England *must* do for India, when the countries are as dissimilar as the colour of the inhabitants, as Mr. Canning said in his speech, quoted in Chap. XI.

India, without any exception, is the finest country *in the world*, and, till the British became masters, the worst governed and most miserable one; but, notwithstanding its present peaceful and flourishing state, there are persons who would disturb its tranquillity, and ruin the people by colonization; a proceeding which, if ever adopted, would be a most iniquitous act, and an eternal

disgrace to this country. What right, human or divine, have we to dispossess the unoffending and happy owners of the soil? We now defend them against their hostile neighbours; they till their fields in peace, and reap their harvests in security, thankful for the protection and comfort in which they live. How long would that be the case, when the needy, unprincipled, and turbulent thousands were poured forth from the refuse of society in Europe, reckless of crime, and bent on every atrocity? The few that escaped from the burnings, violations, and murders of these human locusts, would very shortly, by the foul contamination, lose their originally sober, mild, and affectionate dispositions, and *engraft* themselves with the vices and follies of the European swarms. What a miserable demoralized wretch would the former amiable Hindoo present! How much their state would be improved, their morals mended, and their country benefited by the introduction of hordes of adventurers, without character or virtue, ripe for mischief and plunder! Doubtless the volatile Frenchman, the phlegmatic German, the bigoted Spaniard, the avaricious Dutchman, the semi-barbarous Russian, and the factious Englishman, would greatly improve the state of society in India! and we must suppose, that all the evil spirits of these countries would remain in Europe, and none but the virtuous, the industrious, and the respectable, would find their

way to India! Let us now look to ourselves: I believe it is *pretty generally* admitted, that England, shorn of her Oriental dominions, would, as a great commercial and maritime nation, cut but a sorry figure. Such, however, is the unhappy spirit of political innovation, and the tendency of our plans and theories, that, with the bitter example of the loss of North America before our eyes by colonization, we would do the same thing in India, where the same result would in a short time inevitably follow.

I shall close my exposé with a passage from the celebrated opposition journal, the Morning Chronicle :—

"We have no hostility towards the East India Company, but, on the contrary, *fear nothing so much* as that the Government of India should *ever* be withdrawn from it."

APPENDIX.

No. I.*

The Russians are quietly but constantly approaching us. Some men who have been at our north-western stations, and as far within our limits as Delhi, made no secret that an establishment was being organized at Balk, which you know is not very far from the limit of Mr. Elphinstone's excursion; so that the talk of their finding the route difficult is all nonsense. The extraordinary, and, in many cases, minute knowledge which some Russian officers were found to possess with respect to the situation of our cantonments, and the *disposition* of the regular troops, attracted a good deal of attention, when *some* of our overland travellers fell in with their advanced posts; and lately we are told the question has been so far entered into by Russian military men, that the advantages of marching boldly into our territory and taking up cantonments amongst the Mahratta States during the *hot* season, have been weighed against the more *prudent* plan of passing the first year at Lahore, and *organizing* the Seik army.

Should either of these plans be adopted, I am sorry to say I think not so favourably as some do of our present means of resistance. Ever since Lord Hastings left the country, the policy of those at the head of affairs to the army has been changed in every possible manner; the *spirit* of emulation and honourable

* Globe and Traveller Newspaper, 19th July, and Oriental Herald for August.

ambition of the officers is almost *damp*; and the privates are so *worn* down by sickness and *hard duty* that desertion is more frequent than ever; and the men now enlisted are of a *caste and appearance vastly inferior to the men* who were once the admiration of all beholders!!

The staff of the army, too, is in a *deplorable* state for entering upon a war with an active and enterprising enemy. The adjutant-general's department is notoriously *inefficient*—pruned down to the lowest possible scale in point of economy, it naturally requires the most active and intelligent head to carry on its duties. The quartermaster-general's department it is more difficult to pronounce upon; its duties are very ill defined, and no attention whatever is paid to *qualification*; it is, however, a *favoured* branch, and active service would no doubt improve it. The army commissariat is probably the best organized department of the staff—a little relaxation of the original regulations has communicated the quickening impulse of self-interest to some individuals; and I am persuaded the public is a gainer by the change. The ordnance commissariat is the *worst arranged*, and *worst paid* branch of the general staff—it is, indeed, the least favoured arm of the service, and personal *proscription* and *secret* influence regulate every thing concerning it. The medical staff has of late years greatly improved; much, however, is wanting to complete it, particularly in its military, or rather field department; and a more encouraging system of promotion would be highly advantageous to it.

Of the troops it is sufficient to say, that the Europeans of His Majesty's service would be the *point d'appui* of the whole army. If *they* can stand service there is no doubt that the sepoys would behave well; but *some* officers, who *have seen* reverses in this country, are not very sanguine on this head. It is generally acknowledged that the European constitution does not give way under five or six years of exposure to this climate; but after that period the British soldier, instead of being inured to the climate, is in nine cases out of ten ruined by it, and not only his health and muscles, but the energy of his mind, greatly diminished!!

When we consider, then, that a great portion of our European troops have been MANY years in India, it is not too much to say that their superiority depends entirely on *opinion*, and that this opinion would stand a great chance of being considerably weakened, in the event of a struggle with troops, many of whom would be natives of Asia, and all comparatively fresh and vigorous. It was very different with the French, in the wars of the Carnatic. *They* were situated PRECISELY as we were; they came from a distance in ships; they had been SUDDENLY planted under a burning sun; and they were in fact as much, and in many instances more, exposed to inconvenience from the climate than our troops; yet they are always cited as an example in point.

As long, however, as the European troops could make head against an invading force, so long, and no longer, would our native infantry *be to be* depended on. A defeat would *almost disband* our army; and should we be under the necessity of falling back upon our supplies, or in order to concentrate, I *question* if one man in ten of our native troops would *consent to leave* the country he was *recruited in* behind. *I once knew four hundred* old sepoys desert from one battalion in the course of four-and-twenty hours!!!

In one word, then, there is no such thing as a good field engineer in the Bengal establishment: the artillery are much dissatisfied and discouraged, the cavalry are smart troops, but *disregard their officers*; the infantry have scarcely any officers to *disregard*, but, *if well* commanded, would to a certain point make *tolerable* soldiers; but they have no *morale*—no stamina; the men who now fill our ranks are vastly inferior to the sepoys of 1799 and 1804. *Mirabile dictu!!*

From *this*, and from *your* information from other quarters, you may judge of the real character of this so much vaunted army. For my own part I am quite certain, and I speak after having heard the sentiment of a great number of our *most intelligent officers*, that our forces could not keep the field more than one campaign, if attacked by an enterprising enemy, unless some very decisive measures are adopted.

No. II.

(For the Sun.)

FREE PRESS IN INDIA.

Mr. Editor,—It is with painful sensations that I have perused the discussions on the subject of a free press in India, and I wish it were in my power to point out, as clearly as I conceive, the injury such discussions may occasion to this country, to the natives of India, and to the Europeans residing there; even were I capable, perhaps the topic would be better omitted.

I am proud of being an Englishman, and, I trust, as true a lover of freedom, and as sincere a well-wisher for the happiness of the Hindoos, as any of the advocates for a free press in India; and it is with much gratification that I have perused Sir J. Malcolm's speech in the India House, and Captain Seely's letters in your valuable and impartial paper. I regret exceedingly that there existed a necessity for their coming forward to open the eyes of the inhabitants of Great Britain to the dangerous machinations of a party, many of whom, no doubt, act from the best of motives, but with mistaken notions; others, I fear, act not from the same principles, and have not (as they pretend) the welfare of this country, Hindoostan, and mankind in general, at heart. The fallacy of their reasoning, and their exaggerating every circumstance tending to promote their own wishes, create a belief that their aim is to raise disturbances in all quarters. Few of the inhabitants in Great Britain are aware how much they are deceived by a great number of the publications on the Hindoos and their religious ceremonies; some of which are fabrications, and many are full of exaggerations, representing circumstances incorrectly, in order to produce the greater effect on the minds and feelings of a sensitive people. I mean not to advocate all their customs and religious ceremonies, many of which are

appalling to a European of any sensibility; I wish only that such measures may be pursued as are likely to occasion their disuse; but I am persuaded that a free press, coercion, or the interference of missionaries from this country with their religion, will have a direct contrary effect to that which is intended.

I consider that we hold our territories in India by OPINION, and the mild tenets of the Hindoo religion, which consists not merely in faith, or form of worship, but governs all their actions through life; they, being from childhood taught to eat, drink, sleep, and do every thing agreeably to their religion and the dictates of their Brahmins, will suffer death rather than any infringement on these rules or customs. With such people will not a free press, in the hands of half-castes, disappointed Europeans, Mahomedans, or Hindoos who have been dispossessed of their land, or have otherwise suffered disappointment, be likely to stir up a flame (on the subject of religion) in the breasts of the Brahmins, and through them, render the yoke galling to all the native inhabitants, which now they scarcely feel, and bear with cheerfulness? Although they are sensible of the happiness they enjoy under their present government in comparison with what they enjoyed previous to it, in time it will be forgotten, and many of the present generation will not consider what they were, but what they are and may be. There are many traits in the Hindoo character we must morally disapprove, yet we must all allow them to be a mild unaspiring people, and easily governed.—It has long been customary with them, on particular occasions, to devote themselves as victims to the rivers Ganges and Jumna (particularly at their junction), also to their idol Jagan-Nath; and for women to burn themselves with their husbands. I believe, for many years previous to 1821 or 1822, the latter increased considerably by improper interference, and since that period the number of sutees has decreased, in consequence of the judicious interference of the Indian government in preventing any from burning contrary to the rules laid down in the Shaster,—which must be gratifying to every European and sensible Hindoo. It is not by exaggerating the number of those acts, and the atrocious manner in which they are conducted,

that we ought to expect their disuse; the sensible part of the inhabitants will be irritated by such means, and the minds of the lower order inflamed to such a degree, as no European can conceive who has not resided long in India. If we minutely examine the customs of any country, we shall find much to disapprove.

There are enthusiasts and fanatics in every country; in India many of this description destroy themselves with the hope of attaining eternal happiness. If we look to our own country, we shall find many destroy themselves from religious fanaticism; and the public and private asylums will show how many lose the greatest blessing given to man (reason) from the same cause. In God's name, let us not lose it in chimerical pursuits!

With the *Hindoos*, insanity is of rare occurrence; for before the malady is *fixed, they* devote themselves victims to their god.

To conclude, allow me to thank Capt. Seely for the pleasure I have derived in the perusal of his book on "The Wonders of Elora," and at the same time to assure him, that there is not a sentiment in the book of which I do not highly approve. Sir J. Malcolm's book on Central India I have not yet had the pleasure of reading.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your very obedient Servant,

D. JOHNSON,
Formerly Surgeon in the Hon. East India Company's Service, Bengal Establishment.

Great Torrington, Devon, Aug. 25, 1824.

No. III.

(*For the Sun.*)

" Words are like leaves, and where they most abound,
Much fruit of sense beneath is rarely to be found."

Mr. EDITOR—Doubtless, from the interest you take in Indian affairs, and your Journal often containing the most recent intelligence from the Oriental continent, you will have observed with no common interest the squabble at the Court of Proprietors on the 23d June. There is a peculiar species of debate, which we may class as interrogative and rejective, in which much is said and nothing done; occupying the valuable days of the chairman in desultory and useless questions, answering no possible purpose but that of wasting time and hampering the responsible officer of the Board of Directors; hurrying him into compliance, and, as in the case of the late chairman (Mr. Wigram), on the question of the Marquis of Hastings's government, almost bullying him into an abandonment of his duty. It is to me exceedingly singular, that five or six men, otherwise unexceptionable and highly respectable, should so far forget the interests of 1,500 Proprietors, as to be eternally frustrating the acts of the Directors, men whom they have themselves elected, and in whom all put confidence. A desire to have their services thought of importance, and impelled by the *cacoethes loquendi*, these persons are constantly thrusting themselves into public notice. We find His Majesty's Government have no cause of complaint against the Directors. The Board of Control, under the able presidency of Mr. W. Wynn, approves of all their measures. The Parliament of the country never find it necessary to call them to account. The Court of Proprietors, collectively and individually, with the exception of the foregoing personages, sanction their proceedings; and the British press, watchful and jealous as it is of public and private rights, rarely

contains the shadow of a censure against the Directors. No, Sir, it is only some half dozen perturbed spirits who thus incessantly occupy the Court, and are never happy but when they hear themselves talk; under a mistaken notion of acquiring popularity, they go on teazing and perplexing the Court, for no earthly purpose that I can discover.

Mr. Twining's *concise* and excellent observations deserve to be recorded. "He saw no objection to the production of the paper; but he thought, as it was only the opinion of an individual, too much importance had been attached to it, and that importance would be increased by the withholding it; *he*, however, hoped that it would be produced, without the opinion of the Court of Directors." This is all right in the honourable Proprietor. I have not the honour of knowing the gentleman, but I shall set him down as a sensible man. "Long speeches are like cypress trees, tall and beautiful, but they yield no fruit." I unreservedly confess that a regular observance ought to be kept on the public acts of the Directors; but while they, to the satisfaction of the Government, pursue their measures with integrity and ability, there is something very irritating and ridiculous in a few individuals making it a matter of duty and principle to be constantly acting against the very men whom they have themselves clothed with power. Events have justified the administration of the Court of Directors for the last half century; but this rage for legislating, and inveterate *penchant* for speechifying, will confound the judgment of many an excellent and worthy man. Were there any thing useful or productive in these repeated attempts to thwart the movements of the Directors, I would be the last to raise my voice. Although their servant, I have no undue bias—no leaning —no partiality; but I do protest most sincerely against those repeated, unnecessary and injudicious attacks on the Court of Directors: which have a tendency to interrupt business, produce hostile feelings, and impede the executive in the due discharge of their duties.

It was but the other day I met my flighty and patriotic friend Bob Bouncer. Whither so fast? I exclaimed.—Going to town

to buy India Stock, was the reply.—I thought your funds were laid out to advantage already.—Just so, my dear fellow; but I want to be a public man—to get into notice. I have tried by all means to get into print, but it won't do—have tried History, Biography, Political Economy, even a sonnet to the Moon—it won't do.—The Times won't notice me, The Chronicle won't record me, The Sun won't shine upon me: must buy India Stock and become a speechifier.—See, my good fellow, how I will touch up the Directors—see my exposé of India affairs! The very thought is ecstasy itself! How delightful, when Molly brings in the breakfast, to take up the morning paper, reeking with printer's dew, and find the following exquisite half column:—

"Mr. Robert Bouncer then rose, and followed on the same side of the question. He took an able and perspicuous review of the administration of affairs in India, from the earliest period down to the present time; and gave the clearest statement of the management of our policy in that distant part of the British empire that was ever before heard. Want of room compels us to give but a very brief outline of the honourable gentleman's able and luminous speech." * * * *

Now, my friend, what think ye of this?—Am I not fit for the House? I will bring them to their senses, and show them the right track.—But, Bob, replied I, speech-making will not fill your belly. With a look of pity, Bob replied, Poor fellow, you are quite a rustic—never mind, I will patronize you, and will now tell you what will be the probable result of my "talking career." Get a wife with lots of money—be noticed by Ministers as a useful man—in consequence be knighted. Then see Sir Robert Bouncer, of Talkative Hall. As the Bouncers are a numerous family, two-thirds shall go to India, and, for old acquaintance sake, I shall bestow a writership on one of your sons.

Now, to conclude, speech-making is the science of one man politely and adroitly deceiving another, and he so long pursues his course that he at last deceives himself. The public will be

amused and instructed next month by a repetition of last week's *interesting* and *useful* business. Two Courts are ordered to be held, for the purpose of opposing and frustrating the intentions of the Directors.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

July 3, 1824. A. Z. of Bombay.

No. IV.

It will be seen by the following Statistical Table from a French paper, on the Geography, &c. of Hindoostan, the probable amount of population in 1820. I think our native subjects, with the subjects of our allies, may be fairly estimated at the round sum of 100,000,000. The British in India of every denomination (including the King's regiments,) may be calculated at nearly 45,000.

" British Possessions ·

	Inhabitants.	Square Miles.
Bengal, Bahar, and Benares.....	39,000,000....	162,000
Augmentation since 1795	18,000,000....	148,000
Gurwhal, Kumaon, and the country between the Sutledge and the Jumna.....	500,000....	18,000
Under the Presidency of Bengal ..	57,500,000....	328,000
Under Madras	15,000,000....	154,000
Under Bombay	2,500,000....	11,000
Territories of the Deccan, &c. acquired since 1815, and not united to any presidency	8,000,000....	60,000
	83,000,000....	553,000

" Allies and Tributaries of the English:

	Inhabitants.	Square Miles.
The Nizam	10,000,000	96,000
The Rajah of Nagpore	3,000,000	70,000
The King of Oude	3,000,000	20,000
The Guicowar	2,000,000	18,000
The Rajah of Mysore	3,000,000	17,000
The Rajah of Sattarah	1,500,000	11,000
Travancore and Cochin	1,000,000	8,000
Rajahs of Jeypore, Bickaneer, &c. Hólkar, the Seiks, the Row of Cutch, and a multiplicity of other native chiefs, under English protection	15,000,000	283,000
	38,500,000	523,000

" Independent States:

The Rajah of Nepaul	2,000,000	53,000
The Rajah of Lahore	3,000,000	50,000
Sind	1,000,000	24,000
The dominions of Scindiah	4,000,000	40,000
	10,000,000	167,000

" Cabul, Soondah, Goa, &c. &c. are omitted."

THE END.

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